

A GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ENGENNI LANGUAGE

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by

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### ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a systematic description of the grammar of the Engenni language.

The first chapter gives a general introduction to the Engenni people and language and describes the linguistic model which is used for the analysis. The phonology of the language including the main features of the tonal system, and the transcription used in the thesis are outlined in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three describes the features of the largest unit in the grammar, the discourse. Chapter Four is an account of the sentence, and Chapters Five and Six an account of the clause.

Chapters Seven to Nine describe the three phrase classes. Chapter Seven is an account of the verbal phrase; Chapter Eight an account of the nominal phrase; and Chapter Nine an account of the adverbial phrase.

The major word classes are described in Chapter Ten, and the minor word classes in Chapter Eleven. Chapter Twelve contains an analysed text.

The thesis ends with a list of abbreviations, a bibliography and an index.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0. The Engenni People and Language

The Engenni people live in the Ahoada division of the Rivers State of Nigeria. They number approximately 10,000 (1963 census). They live in villages along the west bank of the Orashi river. The most northern village is Odau, one of a group of four villages known as Joinkrama; the most southern village is Opuogbogolo. The distance between the two villages is about 33 miles. To the south of the Engenni people live the Kalibari; to the south-west the Odual and Ogbia; to the north-west the Ijaw; to the north the Oba; and to the east the Ekpeye.

The name Engenni (formerly Engana) was first given to the clan by the Kalibari, but the meaning of the name is not known. It is now used as the name for the local administration area. Within the clan there are three subgroups. The northern group call themselves Inedua; the middle group Ogua; and the southern group Ediro. Each subgroup has its own dialect. The differences between the Inedua and Ogua dialects are very slight. The Ediro dialect differs from the other two dialects in a number of lexical items, but the grammar and phonology are almost identical.

Today the Engenni people believe that their ancestors migrated from Benin in the fifteenth century. According to Talbot (1926)<sup>1</sup> they are a branch of the Sobo subtribe of Edo. A section of the clan moved away and settled in what is now Degema town. The Degema language<sup>2</sup>, though having a high number of cognates with Engenni, is no longer intelligible to the Engenni people.

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1. For details of this and all other articles etc. referred to in this and the following chapter see Bibliography page 255.

2. Reference is made to the Degema language on page 105.

Engenni is regarded by Westcott (1962) as being a member of the Edo branch of the Kwa language group<sup>3</sup>. Together with Epie and Degema it forms the subgroup Delta Edo.

The only work so far published on the Engenni language is a word list in 'Wordlists of Delta Edo' by K. Williamson and the author of this thesis. The present work is therefore, as far as is known, the first description of the Engenni language.

### 1.1. The Material for the Present Thesis

The dialect used for this thesis is Inedua. The principal informants were Mr. Mosaic Urugba and Rev. Reuben E. Oku, both residents of Isua, Joinkrama.

The material was gathered by the author and her colleague, Miss J. Clevenger, from June 1964 - March 1967 while they were living in Joinkrama. The work was carried out under the auspices of the West Africa Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, in co-operation with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

The analysis is based on a quantity of tape-recorded text material from a variety of speakers. The tapes were transcribed, resulting in about 3,500 lines of written text. The texts include a large number of folk stories and also general narratives, descriptions, etc. The texts were then processed by a computer under the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, which produced a complete alphabetised concordance of the whole corpus<sup>4</sup>. The concordance has proved very useful in the later stages of the analysis. Almost all the examples in the thesis are taken from the concordance and are labelled according to text (designated by letter)

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3. Engenni is not mentioned by D. Westermann and M.A. Bryan in Handbook of African Languages, or by J.H. Greenberg in 'The Languages of Africa' (International Journal of American Linguistics 1963).

4. This project is sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation of the USA.

and sentence number (designated by numeral). In a very few instances the text material did not provide a sufficient number of examples of a certain item, and data was elicited to supplement. Elicited examples are used in the thesis solely to provide further illustrations. They are designated by the letter E.

## 1.2. The Theoretical Basis of the Analysis

This analysis of Engenni is based largely on the methods and terminology used first by J.T. Bendor-Samuel in 'A Structure-function Description of Terena Phrases' and developed further in later articles<sup>5</sup>. The model has been used for a full grammatical description of a language by R. Stanford in his Ph.D. thesis 'The Bekwarra Language of Nigeria - A Grammatical Description'.

The grammar is analysed as a series of units arranged in a hierarchy of ranks. The hierarchy for Engenni is as follows:

discourse  
sentence  
clause  
phrase  
word  
morpheme

Each unit is described in terms of its function and its structure. The primary function of a unit is as an element of a unit in the rank above. Units are divided into classes, and if necessary subclasses, according to similarities of function in the rank above.

The structure of a unit is described in terms of

a. Its elements. These are units of the rank below.

b. Its syntagmatic features. These can be divided into two kinds with different functions, though certain features (e.g. clause-introducers) may combine both functions.

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5. For details see Bibliography.



i. Features marking the relationship between units. These are termed relational features. In this description of Engenni the following are analysed as relational features:

- order of elements
- obligatory or optional status of elements
- special features at the juncture of elements
- linking elements or features
- concord between elements
- vowel harmony between elements

ii. Features marking the unit as distinct from other units, which cannot conveniently be handled as elements of the unit since they may be relevant to the whole unit or extend over more than one element of the unit. These are termed demarcative features. In the present description the following are analysed as demarcative features:

- tone patterns marking polarity, mood or tense
- particles marking question, aspect etc.
- intonation patterns marking polarity, question/statement
- special sequence of features of a lower rank, e.g. sequence of tenses
- occurrence of a certain class of unit from a rank lower than the rank immediately below, e.g. speech verb in a certain sentence type
- reduplication of certain elements in the unit, e.g. clause final phrase

The demarcative features are frequently arranged in mutually exclusive sets, e.g. there are four tone patterns marking different tenses. Where a unit has a number of demarcative features, e.g. the clause, the features form an interrelated system.

Units are divided into types, and if necessary into subtypes, according to similarities in structure. At some ranks a complex of units may function as a single unit. Such a complex is termed an extended unit (e.g. extended nominal phrase, section 8.3) or a unit string (e.g. verbal clause string, section 5.9) depending on the relationship between the units.

A unit may have a secondary function as an element of a unit at a lower rank. The unit is then termed rankshifted. The unit may function as an element of a unit as its own rank as part of the structure of its own class of units, e.g. a rankshifted nominal phrase functions as an element of an extended nominal phrase. Or the unit may function as part of the structure of a different class of unit, e.g. a rankshifted nominal phrase functions as an element of one type of adverbial phrase. The unit may also function as an element of a unit at a lower rank than its own, e.g. a rankshifted clause functions as an attributive element of the nominal phrase.

Any rankshifted unit may theoretically be recursive and an infinite number of degrees of recursion are theoretically possible. In practice, recursion is not widespread. Where it occurs, it will be noted and also the number of degrees of recursion.

When units are rankshifted there may be special markers or restrictions. These will be described.

An element which is a rankshifted unit may be termed a construct, e.g. the relative construct in the nominal phrase is a rankshifted clause or sentence. The term 'construct' is used when it is useful to indicate the function of the rankshifted unit.

### 1.3. A Preliminary Note on Particles in Engenni

A characteristic feature of the Engenni language is that some particles have a wide distribution, functioning at more than one rank. The particles and their functions are summarised below.

The sequential particle ka functions at three ranks. It links the following units:

- sentences in the discourse (section 3.2.1)
- clauses in the sentence (section 4.4.1 and 4.4.2)
- phrases in the clause (nominal clause 6.1.2 and 6.2.2  
verbal clause 5.4.3)

The speech particle ga marks speech material at three ranks:

discourse	(section 3.2)
sentence	(section 4.2.3)
clause	(nominal clause 6.2.2)

Another feature of the particle class is that there is frequent homophony between particles and also between particles and other minor words. The particles are analysed as different morphemes because they have different syntactic functions.

- ga 1. clause-introducer in complex sentence type 7  
 2. speech particle marks direct or indirect speech or reported thought at three ranks (see above)
- na 1. incompletive particle marks the incompletive aspect  
 2. negative particle marks negation in imperative and subjunctive clauses  
 3. reinforcer (section 11.6) functions as attributive element of the nominal and verbal phrases
- na 1. clause-introducer in complex sentence types 8 and 9  
 2. construct marker marks rankshifted clause or sentence functioning as relative construct
- ni 1. completive particle marks the completive aspect  
 2. definitive particle marks emphasis
- sa 1. clause-introducer in complex sentence type 10  
 2. negative particle marks negation in nominal clauses

#### 1.4. A Note on the Translation of Examples

For each example a literal and a free translation are provided. In the literal translation only the meaning of the verb root is given, since the English tense depends largely on the context. Similarly with nouns, the singular form is given in the literal translation since the number depends on the context except in the case of a very few nouns which have separate plural forms (section 10.2.2). In the free translation the tense of the verb and the number of the noun are given.

A hyphen between words in the literal translation indicates that the words are the translation of one Engenni word. The use of brackets in the free translation indicates that the word is required in the English translation, but is not present in the Engenni examples.

The abbreviations below are used in the literal translation because of the limitation of space. Other abbreviations used in the thesis will be explained as they are introduced, and a complete list of abbreviations is given at the end of chapter 12.

cpl	completive aspect
def	definitive particle
emp	emphatic particle
inc	incompletive aspect
neg	negative
pl	plural
qu	question
seq	sequential particle
sp	speech particle

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND TRANSCRIPTION

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND TRANSCRIPTION

#### 2.0. Introduction

This chapter gives an outline of the analysis of Engenni phonology, and explains the transcription used in the examples. The transcription is similar to the alphabet which has now been adopted by the Engenni people. The approach to the analysis is basically phonemic, though, as will be seen, there is some departure from orthodox phonemic theory in that some phonetic features are analysed as features of the syllable or of some larger phonological unit rather than as features of individual phonemes. The reasons for this analysis will be given later. The aim of this chapter is not to present the phonological analysis in detail, but to describe all the features of the phonology which are relevant to the grammar.

#### 2.1. Consonants

The consonant phonemes are set out in tabular form below.

	Labio- velar	Labial	Labio- dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives						
egressive vl.		p		t		k
vd.		b		d		g
ingressive vl.	kp					
vd.	gb	bh		dh		
Fricatives						
vl.			f	s		
vd.			v	z		
Nasals		m		n		
Lateral				l		
Vibrant				r		
Semi-vowels		w			y	

### Notes on the Consonants

- a. Labio-velars kp and gb have double articulation.
- b. The symbols bh and dh indicate implosives made with ingressive glottalic air-stream.
- c. The vibrant r is made with a single alveolar tap.
- d. A voiceless glottal fricative h occurs in a few exclamations. It is regarded as extra-systemic as its distribution is so limited.

#### 2.1.1. Labialisation and Palatalisation

The following consonants may occur with lip-rounding (i.e. labialisation):

Labials	p	b	bh
Labio-dentals	f	v	
Alveolars	t	d	s
Velars	k	g	

The following consonants may occur with raising of the tongue to the close front position (i.e. palatalisation):

Labials	p	b	bh	m
Labio-dentals	f	v		
Alveolars	t	d	dh	s z
Velars	k	g		

Labialisation and palatalisation are analysed phonologically as features of the syllable. Alternative analyses would be: i) to establish 23 extra consonant phonemes, or ii) to analyse labialisation and palatalisation as separate consonant phonemes. Neither analysis is satisfactory. The former is uneconomical in the number of phonemes, and the latter would lead to setting up consonant clusters which do not otherwise occur in the CV structure of the language<sup>1</sup>.

---

1. For a fuller discussion of this problem see P.M. Bendor-Samuel 'Phonemic Interpretation Problems in Some West African Languages'.

For ease in reading, the feature of labialisation is transcribed by a 'w' following the consonant, and the feature of palatalisation by a 'y' following the consonant. The phoneme 'w' and the feature of labialisation are thus transcribed in the same way, also the phoneme 'y' and the feature of palatalisation. 'y/w' is to be interpreted as a feature of the syllable following a consonant and as a phoneme elsewhere.

Note: The lip-rounding with back vowels and the raising of the tongue with front vowels are not analysed as a feature of the syllable but as part of the articulation of the vowel.

#### 2.1.2. Nasalisation

The semi-vowels 'w' and 'y' occur both with and without velic closure. The position of the velum remains the same for the following vowel. Two analyses are possible: i) two extra consonant phonemes may be set up:  $\tilde{w}$  and  $\tilde{y}$ , or ii) the nasalisation may be analysed as a feature of the syllable. The latter analysis is adopted as it is more economical in the number of phonemes required, and parallels the features of palatalisation and labialisation of the syllable. It also reflects the phonetic data more closely since the nasalisation extends to the following vowel, i.e. throughout the syllable<sup>2</sup>. The nasalisation feature is transcribed by a 'n' preceding the 'w' or 'y', e.g. nwei, nyou, to avoid the use of diacritics.

- 
2. It is recognised that labialisation, palatalisation, nasalisation and the vowel system which is described on the following page, could also be analysed prosodically. See for example, J. Carnochan 'Igbo'.



## 2.2. Vowels

The vowels are set out below in tabular form according to their phonetic quality. (For the definition of 'raised' and 'lowered' see below.)

		Front	Central	Back
Close	Raised	i		u
	Lowered	ɪ		ʊ
Non-close	Raised	e	ə	o
	Lowered	ɛ	a	ɔ

In the southern dialect Ediro the distinction between [ə] and [a] has been lost.

### 2.2.1. Vowel Harmony System

Vowels divide into two sets:

- a. Those with the tongue more raised, resulting in a closer quality (shown in the chart as 'raised');
- b. Those with the tongue more lowered and slightly further back, resulting in a more open quality (shown in the chart as 'lowered').

The 'b' set predominate in the language. There is a system of vowel harmony between the two sets which extends throughout the phonological group (section 2.5). The vowels are analysed as five phonemes with the raising or lowering of the tongue position as a feature of the phonological group.

In the transcription the five phonemes are represented as 'i', 'e', 'a', 'o', 'u'. The lowered tongue feature is shown by a dot under the initial vowel of the word; the raised tongue feature by the absence of a dot. The only exception to this procedure is in words where the only vowel is [a]. This is not marked with a dot, since there is almost no possibility of confusion with [ə], as only one occurrence of the latter as the sole vowel in a word has been found. As [a] is very much more frequent than [ə], the non-marking of [a] in this special circumstance reduces very considerably the number of times the diacritic dot is needed.

In compound words (sections 10.1.1.2. and 10.2.2) the two parts are hyphenated and the vowel feature of each part is marked separately, e.g. amini-bhwoni 'soup', ony-avuramu 'woman'.

### 2.2.2. Vowel Sequences

Sequences of two similar or diverse vowels occur in morpheme final position. In diverse sequences either the first or second member is a close vowel. The sequences are analysed as a sequence of two vowels, as they frequently bear distinctive tones. They are transcribed as two vowels.

Examples (The system of transcribing tone is explained below.):

úvíl	'paddle (noun)'	gbèi	'kill'
òdhíà	'sin (noun)'	bhùe	'keep'
gbòu	'plant (verb)'	pèè	'very full'
dùu	'go out'	bhòò	'lukewarm'

### 2.2.3. Nasalisation of Vowels

Close back vowels following a nasal consonant are nasalised. These vowels are analysed as allophones of the corresponding oral vowels, and are not marked in the transcription. Vowels are also nasalised when the syllable has a feature of nasalisation (section 2.1.2). As has already been stated, the feature of nasalisation is marked by 'n' preceding the consonant, so the vowel does not require marking.

### 2.3. Tone and Intonation

In this thesis the term 'tone' is used to classify the pitch on individual syllables. The pitches are arranged in certain patterns termed 'tone patterns'. The term 'intonation' is used for modifications of an entire tone pattern, e.g. raising the general pitch level while the relation of the individual tones to each other remains constant.

### 2.3.1. Basic Tone System

There are three phonetic ranges of pitch, and there are restrictions on the distribution of the top and middle ranges. Two top pitches do not occur in sequence, and a middle pitch does not occur between two low pitches within a phonological clause (section 2.5.).

The system is analysed as having two contrasting tonemes: low tone and high tone plus a feature of upstep which gives rise to the top pitch. The upstep feature is of two types: automatic upstep and the upstep toneme which are described below. The upstepped high tone arising from automatic upstep is phonologically predictable and is therefore analysed as an allotone of high tone. The upstepped high tone arising from the occurrence of the upstep toneme is not phonologically predictable.

In the examples, for ease in reading, tone is marked as follows: low tone ` , high tone is unmarked, and upstepped high tone of either type ´ . In subsequent chapters when referring to the tone system, the term 'upstepped high tone' (abbreviated 'h') is used only for the upstep toneme, since the upstepped high tone resulting from automatic upstep is an allotone. The other two tones are abbreviated thus: low tone 'L', and high tone 'H'.

#### Automatic Upstep

A H tone is upstepped before a L tone within the phonological clause but not across phonological clause boundaries (examples i-iii). A H tone is also upstepped before a following L tone syllable which is elided (examples iv-v). (Details of the elision of vowels at word junctures will be given in section 2.4.).

#### Examples:

- i.                      ðkpílàma    nu                      'As for snail'
- [       -       -       - ]
- [ -       -       - ]

- ii.            ómù dhému yá sàmù            'Is the house big?'
- [       -       -       -       - ]

Compare with example iii.

- iii.            ómù dhému ya            'The house is big'
- [       -       -       -       - ]

In the following examples the absence of a pitch mark under a syllable means that the vowel of that syllable is elided.

- iv.            unwónì olilo            'mouth of a bottle'
- [       -       -       -       - ]

- v.            ógbò opilopo            'back of a pig'
- [       -       -       -       - ]

### Upstep Toneme

At certain points in the grammatical system a h tone occurs not preceding a L tone. Therefore it is necessary to introduce into the system an upstep toneme which is phonologically not predictable.

Example: The noun igbo 'net' has the tone pattern HH in isolation. In a verbal clause string the final syllable of the nominal phrase object is upstepped before the next verb (section 5.9).

- mì do igbó dhemesè            'I wove the net bigger'
- [       -       -       -       - ]
- I weave net enlarge

The genitive construct is marked initially by a h tone (section 8.2.1.3)

- ègwè ígbo            'nets'
- [       -       - ]
- (lit. plurality of nets)

Other places in the grammatical system where an upstep toneme occurs are:

- a. Future tense (section 5.4.1.2)
- b. Phrase junctures (section 5.8.2)
- c. Juncture of nouns and some adjectives (section 8.2.1.1)
- d. Juncture of nouns and some reinforcers (section 8.2.1.1)
- e. The auxiliary verb na (section 11.1)
- f. The preverbal i (section 11.2)

An upstepped high tone of either type has the following effect on successive tones within the phonological clause:

1. Another H tone cannot be upstepped until an actual L tone (not an elided L tone) has interposed.

Example: Compare the initial tone of ifufomu in the following:

ífùfómù 'sandfly'  
 [ - - ]

ógbò ífùfómù 'back of a sandfly'  
 [ - - ]

2. Word final L tone or tones perturb to H tone before a following H tone, except at the boundary of the nominal phrase subject and the verbal phrase where there is a special low juncture (section 5.8.2).

Examples: Compare the tone of omu and of enuma in the following pairs:

ò kunu ómù sàmù 'Did he build a house?'  
 he build house qu

ò kunu ómu n' akìè 'He built a house in the town'  
 he build house in town

ò tou énumà 'He took money'  
 he take money

ò tou énuma tou du ínùmù 'He took money to buy something'  
 he take money take buy thing

### Tone Glides

Rising and falling glides occur on single syllables. A syllable with a tone glide is of the same length as a syllable with a level tone. The glides are analysed as a sequence of two tones as they result either from a juncture feature or from the compression of a tone pattern (see following page). The rising glide usually rises from L to H, unless followed by a L tone when it rises from L to h due to the operation of automatic upstep. The rising glide is marked thus \* : The falling glide usually falls from h to L, unless it is preceded by a h tone when it falls from H to L, due to rule 1 as described on the previous page. The falling glide is marked thus ^ . A ligature between two tones indicates that the tones form a glide e.g. HL, LH.

Word final falling glides occur only at the end of a phonological clause before a pause, or at the end of the nominal phrase subject when there is a low juncture with the verbal phrase (section 5.8.2). Clause medially there is a single h tone.

Examples: Compare the tone of ukwo and of kpe in the following:

mì ta <u>úkwô</u>	'I went to farm'
I go farm	
mì ta <u>úkwó</u> nà	'I went to the farm'
mì ta <u>úkwó</u> n' udhè	'I went to farm yesterday'
mí sì <u>kpê</u>	'I will pay'
I will pay	
mí sì <u>kpé</u> wò	'I will pay you'
mí sì <u>kpé</u> n' ìnyà	'I will pay today'

### 2.3.2. Intonation

In certain grammatical categories there is a rise in the overall pitch level of part or the whole of the clause, but the tone pattern (i.e. the relation between individual pitches) of the words is not altered. This change of pitch is analysed as a different intonation pattern. The start of the rise in pitch is marked in the transcription by an arrow thus  $\hat{\cdot}$ . For the intonation pattern marking question sentences see section 4.5. and marking interrogative clauses see 5.6.

The feature of negation has a special intonation pattern in which the relation between the pitches is narrower than in the positive. This is fully described in section 5.4.1.1. It is not marked in the transcription.

### 2.4. Word Juncture

As all nouns begin and end with a vowel and all other words end with a vowel, two vowels frequently come together at word boundaries and this results in the elision of the first vowel.

#### 2.4.1. Juncture of Major Words

##### a. Close vowel in word final position followed by VC-

In final syllables of minimal nouns (VCV) and verbs (CV), the vowel elides and the tone is lost, but the closeness and frontness of a front vowel is maintained in the palatalisation of the syllable. Similarly, the closeness and backness of a back vowel is maintained in the labialisation of the syllable.

#### Examples:

dhi	ânàmù	[dhyânàmù]	'eat meat'
àvì	ámò	[àvyámò]	'a child's leg'
dú	àswâ	[dwàswâ]	'buy a hoe'
ómu	âbhù	[ómwâbhù]	'a doctor's house'

With non-minimal nouns (VCV+) and verbs (CV+) the close vowel of the final syllable elides together with the tone and there is no palatalisation or labialisation of the syllable, except in the cases noted below.

Examples:

ìkèni ànò	[ìkènânò]	'this ivory'
ùtùmù ànàmù	[ùtùmânàmù]	'an animal's tail'
fòlí àbhii	[fòlàbhii]	'peel kola'
fùnù èdhi	[fùnèdhi]	'climb a palm-tree'
dèí èsèni	[dèèsèni]	'sell fish'
yòú àmìni	[yòàmìni]	'bale out water'

The syllable does have a feature of palatalisation or labialisation in the following cases:

- i) When the root has reduplicated syllables:

Examples:

mímí àkàni	[mímýàkàni]	'squeeze the cloth'
ovúvu ànò	[ovúvwânò]	'this light'

- ii) When the syllable ri or ri is preceded by an identical vowel:

Examples:

ìkìrì ànò	[ìkìryânò]	'this grasscutter'
ábhìrì ànò	[ábhìryânò]	'this fish trap'

- iii) When the syllable ru or ru is not preceded by an identical vowel.

Examples:

ésaru ànò	[ésarwânò]	'this mosquito'
ògbáru ànò	[ògbárwânò]	'this fish' (one particular species)



When there is a sequence of two similar vowels in word final position the final vowel elides together with the tone.

Examples:

ùvîî ânò	[ùvîầnò]	'this paddle'
útuu ânò	[útuầnò]	'this hat'
ò rîî ákìè	[òrîá̀kìè]	'he passed the town'
ò duu âmîî	[òduầmîî]	'he bathed' (lit. he went out to water)

b. Non-close vowel in word final position followed by VC-

With all nouns and verbs the non-close vowel elides together with the tone.

Examples:

òkò édèì	[òké̀dèì]	'a man's canoe'
dîré èsèni	[dîrè̀sèni]	'cook fish'
ò kie á̀mò	[òkiá̀mò]	'she refused the child'
zùó àmîî	[zùà̀mîî]	'draw water'

When there is a sequence of two similar vowels in word final position, both vowels elide and there is compensatory lengthening of the first vowel of the second word. The tone of the first of the two vowels is retained.

Examples:

ímòsyî nàà ívùrà̀mù	[ímòsyî nìí́vùrà̀mù]	'men and women'
ókaa edèì	[ókeedè̀ì]	'old man'

### c. Additional elision in fast speech

Usually no elision takes place before a single V morpheme, but in fast speech elision may occur with compensatory lengthening of the first vowel of the second word. The tone of the elided vowel is retained.

#### Example:

mí nà gbé o      [mínàgbóo]      'I am going home'

Similarly in fast speech both vowels of a vowel sequence may elide. There is compensatory lengthening of the first vowel of the second word and the tone of the first vowel of the sequence is retained.

#### Examples:

ó dèi ákà      [ódaákà]      'she sells corn'

ó tòu énúmà      [ótèénúmà]      'she takes money'

### 2.4.2. Juncture of particles with major words

The vowel of the particles ga, ka, na, sa (all with H tone) elides before a V syllable but the tone is retained, giving rise to a HL glide if the following word normally begins with a L tone.

#### Examples:

ò wei gá ò somu ya      [òweigôsomuya]      'He said it was all right'

àdhé wìlā ká ò gbe      [àdhéwìlakôgbe]      'When day dawned he went home'

èsèni ívā ná ò ya      [èsènívànôya]      'There are two fish'

sá òki      [sôki]      'It's not him'

## 2.5. Relation between the Phonological and Grammatical Hierarchies

The six units set up for the analysis of Engenni phonology are the following: phoneme, syllable, phonological word, phonological group, phonological clause and pause group. All the units except the phoneme and the syllable have some correlation with units in the grammatical hierarchy..

### The Phoneme

The phoneme is the lowest unit in the hierarchy and therefore has no structure.

### The Syllable

The syllable has the structure V or CV (except in loan words) and bears one or two tones.

### The Phonological Word

This is the unit bearing the tone pattern. It normally correlates with the grammatical word, but it may be larger, e.g. the preverbals and head or heads of the verbal phrase are one phonological word (sections 7.4.1. and 11.2).

### The Phonological Group

This is the span of the operation of vowel harmony. Various groupings within the nominal phrase (section 8.2.1.1.) and also the nominal phrase subject or object with a pronoun head and the verbal phrase (section 5.8.1) constitute phonological groups.

### The Phonological Clause

This is the unit within which there is elision and automatic upstep. It is bounded by potential pause. It usually correlates with the grammatical clause, but may be smaller, e.g. when there is a pause before an adverbial phrase in a long clause.

### The Pause Group

This is the largest unit of phonological significance. It is characterised by a final intonation with lessening of voice intensity, lowering of the pitch of the final tone and a final pause. It correlates with the grammatical sentence (section 4.0).

#### 2.6. Other Symbols used in the Transcription

Where it is relevant to the description the following additional symbols are used in the examples:

/	phrase boundary
// or ,	clause boundary
/// or .	sentence boundary
[       ]	rankshifted unit

CHAPTER THREEBEYOND THE SENTENCETABLE OF CONTENTS

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CHAPTER THREE  
BEYOND THE SENTENCE

3.0. Introduction

It has been found that there are certain features of the language which are relevant to a unit larger than the sentence. These features are the grouping of sentences and the occurrence of different pronouns in speech material. Therefore a rank above the sentence has been set up. This is termed discourse. It is probable that an intermediate rank between discourse and sentence may later be needed, but at present there is insufficient evidence to support this.

3.1. Types of Discourse

In the corpus of material which has been studied there are two types of discourse: folk story and general narrative. The folk story is marked initially and finally by one of the following forms:

Initial Forms

Note: The symbol ~ indicates nasalisation; the symbol : indicates a lengthened vowel.

Narrator: ɔ: i: (A call to gain people's attention)

Audience: ɛ: (The response)

or

Narrator: gba isyi ékàà 'I am going to tell a story'

Audience: wùràdha 'Go right ahead'

Final forms

Narrator: ékàà í gba ísyì 'So the story has been told'

Audience: wùràdhá nwàse 'It has indeed'

The general narrative is distinguished by the absence of any of the above forms.

### 3.2. Sentence Groupings

Within the discourse sentences may be linked by a particle or by repetition of part of the sentence. Both these means are analysed as relational features of the discourse.

### 3.2.1. Linking of Sentences by Particles

There are two particles which link a sentence to the previous sentence: ka sequential particle, and ga speech particle.

a. ka occurs sentence initially.

Examples:

1. */// í nà gbe /// ká ànàmù ná èní dū ...*  
           they inc go-home seq meat which we buy

'They were on their way home. And the meat we bought ...'

ACO37

2. /// ónyôswâ wei àkáu tu yì /// ká àkàù í tu yì ///
- name say tree should- come seq tree so bend come
- bend

'Onyoswa told the cotton-tree to bend over. And the cotton-tree bent over.'

DE051

DE051

Note: The end of a sentence is determined by the intonation, (section 4.0), not by the occurrence of a following ka.

b. ga occurs sentence initially and marks the continuation of speech material.

Example:

3. /// àlíbò ná ko ôbhúenêti ga adégì /// òbhúenêti me ///  
tortoise go-to call lion sp name lion answer

ga mi yia, mí yì í ko wò, bhú na nyoni ku me ôbhô ///  
sp I come I come to call you, you go-to put give me hand

'Tortoise went to call lion (shouting) "Adegi". Lion answered.  
(Tortoise continued) "Here I am, I have come to call you to help  
me".'

CZ017

### 3.2.2. Linking of Sentences by Repetition

The final clause of the previous sentence is re-echoed as the initial clause of the next sentence. The 'echo' clause has the following characteristics:

- a. The verbal phrase is the same (i.e. has the same head element(s)) as in the preceding clause;
- b. The tense is restricted to either the descriptive or the referential (see section 5.4.1.2 for details of tenses);
- c. The subject is either the same as in the preceding clause or is a pronoun;
- d. The object is either the same as in the preceding clause or is a pronoun.

In the examples given below the characteristics of each 'echo' clause are given following the example.

#### Examples:

4. /// èsyià ká èsyì na onu-amo ná wuru dhe êdhyómu na  
 there seq place that mother the make finish food the  
 tou bho kye ì /// ó wùrù dhe êdhyómu na tou  
 take keep give her she make finish food the take  
 bho kye ì // ká èguá nà pa // í nà bìdha ///  
 keep give her seq they inc start they inc travel

'So the mother prepared some food and kept it for her. When she had prepared the food and kept it for her, they set off.' FBO32/33

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase      b. descriptive tense  
                   c. pronoun subject        d. same object



5. /// mí nǐi dhé ònwí // ká mǐ sàlì dhe utomu ///  
 I wipe finish body seq I comb finish head  
 mí sàlì dhe ùtòmù // ká mǐ tǒu awo nyoni ///  
 I comb finish head seq I take shirt put-on

'I dried myself and combed my hair. When I had combed my hair  
 I put my shirt on.' AA004/5

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase b. descriptive tense  
 c. same subject d. same object

6. /// ávuramu nà me /// ávuramu na me // àlìbò ná  
 woman the agree woman the agree tortoise go-to  
 wa dhou êdhyómu n'azyi yì ///  
 search take food in bush come

'The woman agreed. When the woman agreed, tortoise went to get  
 food in the bush and came back.' FA013/4

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase b. referential tense  
 c. same subject

7. /// àlìbò kǒnì kǒnì kpúrùkpúrù tǔu // ká ànì àlìbò  
 tortoise fight fight struggling till seq wife of-tortoise  
 sye dhe ákì na sisè /// ó syè sise //  
 remove finish pot the put-down she remove put-down  
 ká àlìbò wu dhé nǐ ///  
 seq tortoise die finish cpl

'Tortoise struggled and struggled and squirmed till his wife took  
 the pot right off (the fire) and put it down. When she took it  
 off and put it down, tortoise was dead.' DF027/8

'Echo' clause: a. same verbal phrase b. descriptive tense  
 c. pronoun subject d. zero form of object  
 pronoun

Note: For the occurrence of the zero allomorph of the object pronoun  
 see section 10.3.2.

### 3.3. Quotations in Speech Material

#### 3.3.1. Different types of Quotation

Within speech material there are three types of quotation which are termed a) indirect, b) semi-direct, c) direct. The difference between the types lies in the person of the pronoun used when referring to the speaker and the addressee.

a. In indirect quotations only 3rd person pronouns are used, the reflexive form being used when the speaker is the subject or object, and the non-reflexive form when the addressee is the subject or object, e.g. tortoise said to rabbit that he (tortoise) saw him (rabbit), or that he (rabbit) saw him (tortoise). (See section 10.3.2. for a fuller treatment of reflexive pronouns.)

b. In semi-direct quotations 3rd person pronouns are used for the speaker, but 2nd person for the addressee, e.g. tortoise said to rabbit that he (tortoise) saw you, or that you saw him (tortoise).

c. In direct quotations 1st and 2nd person pronouns are used for both the speaker and the addressee, e.g. tortoise said to rabbit, "I saw you" or "You saw me".

The pronouns used are summarised in the chart below.

Note: r = reflexive.

Type of quotation	Referent		
	Speaker	Addressee	Other Person
Indirect	3r	3	3
Semi-indirect	3r	2	3
Direct	1	2	3

The following chart gives the actual forms which occur.

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Subject	Object	Subject	Object
1st	mi	me	eni	eni
2nd	bhu	wo	bha	bha
3rd reflex	oki	ei	bha	bha
3rd non-reflex	o	ei	i / egua	egua

The type of quotation is also characterised by the occurrence of imperative or subjunctive clauses. Imperative clauses occur only in direct quotations (example 12). In semi-indirect and indirect quotations commands are in the subjunctive mood (examples 8 and 11). For details of imperative and subjunctive clauses see sections 5.5. and 5.4.1.1.

## Examples of different types of quotation

a. Indirect quotations

8.    ãlíbbò   í   wo   kye   omini   eí   ga    $\frac{6}{3rd}$  yilà  
tortoise so say give child his sp he should-stand

'Tortoise told his child to stand up.'

EC035

9. édei ákà wei ga òkí ma moni eì  
                                 3rd-r                 3rd  
 man that say sp he yet not-see him

'That man said that he had not seen him yet.'

CG050

### b. Semi-indirect quotations

- [illegible]

'He said, "Look after me and I will die with you".'

or 'He said that she should look after him and he would die with her.'

FD031

Note: For the occurrence of iwo in this construction see section 8.2.2, page 156.

11. ... gá òkí wo ku wo ga bhù nà gbá à  
           3rd-r                      2nd                      2nd  
       sp he not-say give you that    you neg tell qu

'(He said) "Did I not tell you that you weren't to tell anyone?"'

or '(He said) hadn't he told him that he wasn't to tell anyone?'

DE048

c. Direct quotations

12. ì wo kyé ì gá zà kòrì èni n'èná  
1st

they say give him sp stay wait-for us at here

'They said to him, "Wait for us here".'

CG018

13. ávuramu nà í weì gá mī moni wó nī  
1st 2nd

woman the so say sp I see you cpl

'Then the woman said, "I have seen you".'

EA034

Degrees of Quotation

Two degrees of quotation are distinguished: first degree quotation follows a speech verb (see section 4.4.3.1), e.g. he said that he would go; second degree quotation is a quotation within a quotation, e.g. he answered that his friend said that he would go. First degree quotations may be direct, indirect or semi-indirect. Second degree quotations are either direct (of) indirect. No example has yet occurred of a semi-indirect second degree quotation. There is no difference in the use of pronouns in first or second degree quotations. Pronouns thus refer to the original speaker and not to the speaker just mentioned. For examples of first degree quotations see nos. 8-13 above. Examples of second degree quotations are given below.

Direct second degree quotation

14.. ò wei gá èhényì ga bhú wèla ga mī kpe wò à  
she say sp aha sp you say sp I should- you qu  
pay

'She said, "Aha, you say that I should pay you, do you?".'

DK009

Indirect second degree quotation

15. ò bhue-eníá wo kye omini el ga ... ó sɪ tókpa  
 he then say give child his sp he will scold  
 (tortoise) (pig)

kye i. ó sɪ wéià ga ó wùrú ivo  
 give him he will say sp it does what  
 (tort.) (pig)

ná òkí kpe i osà  
 that he not-pay him due

'He (tortoise) then said to his child that he (pig) would scold him and would ask why he (tortoise) did not pay the money he owed.'

CA010/11

3.3.2. Occurrence of Different Types of Quotation<sup>1</sup>

If the speaker is 1st or 2nd person all quotations are direct. If the speaker is 3rd person all three types of quotation occur. The majority are indirect. In the opening section of a discourse when, as it were, the stage is being set, all quotations are indirect. Then as the story moves towards the climax there is usually a change to semi-indirect quotations. Direct quotations are used as follows:

a. At the climax of a story there is a change to direct quotations. For example, in the text 'The Marriage of Tortoise' the quotations in the first half of the story are all indirect. Then at the first climax when tortoise accuses the wolf of telling lies about him, the quotations are direct. As the story proceeds, the quotations revert to being indirect. Then at the end of the story when the tortoise proves his point, his speech is all in direct quotation.

---

1. See K.L. Pike: Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics applied to Selected African Languages (1966), pp. 84-92.

Example from an early section of the discourse - indirect quotations

16. ànàmú nà ga ... àlíbbò ká ànyá ì ... èsyì ná òkí  
 animal the sp tortoise seq horse his place that he  
 sì tâ ká àlíbbò kpó nì èì tá nì tá nì  
 will go seq tortoise carry cpl him go cpl go cpl

'The animal said ... that tortoise was his horse ... that wherever he wanted to go tortoise would carry him on his back.' CC025

Example from the climax of the discourse - direct quotations

17. àlíbbò í ko anamu nà. ò me. gá bhù tou me  
 tortoise so call animal the he reply sp you take me  
 bhile bhué ni ilô, ga bhú wèla, ga mé ka ànyá wò  
 tell keep cpl lie sp you say sp I seq horse your  
 gá ùtòmù êkòmù à.  
 sp head word qu

'So tortoise called the animal. He answered. (Tortoise went on)  
 "Is it true that you have told a lie about me and said that I am your horse?".'

b. When the speech material is a dialogue, the speeches of one character are usually direct quotations and those of the other character are indirect. The character using direct quotations can be said to be in focus, and the other character out of focus. An example occurs in the text 'A Man is Saved by His Dogs' where in the conversation between a wicked fairy and a farmer called Onyoswa, the wicked fairy is in focus and her speeches are usually direct quotations, whereas the farmer is out of focus and his speeches are indirect.

Example (Direct quotations are underlined)

18. ká ò í weì édèì ná bhù ya n'âzyí nà, ò zá nì  
 seq she so way man who you are in bush the it stay opl  
na bhù nyine yi, mí ì gúru wo ísyòni.  
 that you not-appear come, I so will-cast you spell  
 ká ònyôswá nà í weì gá ò nò gúra  
 seq name the so say sp she neg cast

'So she (the fairy) said, "You who are in the bush, if you do not come out I will cast a spell on you". Onyoswa replied that she should not cast a spell."

DE009

c. Questions are usually direct quotations and the reply is indirect.

Examples

19. ànàmú nà í bhine amo nà, gá ènô bhù yì í wa iyo.  
 animal the so ask child the sp now you come to look-for what  
 ga òkí yì í wa owutumu eí.  
 sp she come to look-for rat her

'So the animal asked the child, "What have you come to look for now?" (The child replied) that she had come to look for her rat.'

EE027

20. gá bhù moni adégì na ó dei dhyani n'uvomu ewai nà.  
 sp you see name who he fell enter in inside pond the  
 ò me gá òkì moni adégì.  
 he reply sp he see name

'(He said), "Have you seen Adegì who fell into the pond?" He replied that he had seen Adegì.'

CJ032

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE SENTENCE

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE SENTENCE

#### 4.0. Introduction

The sentence consists of one clause or a group of clauses which are syntactically related. Except when it is functioning as a rank-shifted unit, it has a final intonation which is characterised by a lessening of voice intensity and a drop in the pitch of the final syllable whether this is a H or a L tone syllable. A final H tone is lower than previous H tones but still higher than previous L tones. A final L tone is lower than previous L tones.

Examples: (Note: The absence of a pitch mark under a syllable means the vowel of that syllable is elided.)

àlìbò    ta    ómu    opilopo	'Tortoise went to pig's house'

èní    nó    te    edà	'We went and reached the river'

The final intonation is analysed as a demarcative feature which distinguishes the sentence from other units. In the following two examples it is the occurrence of the final intonation, marked by a full stop, that distinguishes two sentences linked by the particle ka (section 3.2.1) from two clauses linked by ka forming one sentence (complex sentence type 2, section 4.4.2). In example 21 the pitch of the sentence final H tone syllable ta is lower than that of the previous syllable le, whereas in example 22 the pitch of the clause final H tone syllable -ma is the same as that of the previous syllable vu-.

Examples:

21. /// ègwè ony-óko nà a le ta. /// ká à tou  
 [ - - - - - ]  
 pl messenger the also again go seq they take  
 ávuramu na tou du ta obl. ///  
 woman the take lead go name-of-hut

'The messengers also went again. Then the girl was taken to the  
 'obi'.'

AM017

22. /// ò vuma // ká ò vye. ///  
 [ - - - - ]  
 he vex seq he cry

'He got angry and cried.'

AA045

4.1. Function of the Sentence

The primary function of the sentence is as an element of the discourse. Because no intermediate rank between the sentence and the discourse has been set up sentences are not divided into classes.

Some sentences also have a secondary function as a rankshifted unit as follows:

- a. as a single clause (section 4.6);
- b. as a complete nominal phrase (section 8.2.7);
- c. as an attributive element to the head of the nominal phrase (section 8.2.1.2).

Such sentences are limited to those composed of declarative clauses only. If an intermediate rank between the discourse and the sentence were set up, such sentences would probably form a separate class in contrast to imperative and question sentences.

## 4.2. Structure of the Sentence

A sentence may be simple, consisting of one clause, or complex consisting of two or more clauses in certain relationships to each other. These relationships are marked by syntagmatic features, i.e. by certain particles or clause-introducers, or by a certain sequence of polarity/mood/tense/aspect features of the clause. Polarity, mood, tense and aspect are analysed as features of the clause but the sequence of the features is a demarcative feature of some sentence types. (In other sentence types the sequence of features is not restricted.) Each set of clause features is summarised here and will be described in detail in chapter 5.

<u>Polarity / Mood</u>	<u>Tense</u>	<u>Primary Aspect</u>
Positive indicative	Descriptive	Completive
Negative indicative	Aorist	Incompletive
Positive subjunctive	Referential	Neutral
Negative subjunctive	Future	

Different types of complex sentences are set up according to the different relationships between the clauses and the way in which the relationship is marked. Usually the relationship is between two individual clauses, but in types 1 and 9 it is between a group of clauses and an individual clause. In some multi-clause sentences there are a number of different relationships between the component clauses. This complexity is handled by means of rankshifting (or embedding) of sentences within sentences (section 4.6). This method of analysis has the advantage of making clear the layering of the relationships.

Question sentences (i.e. those requiring a yes/no answer) are analysed as being derived from non-question sentences and are described in section 4.5.



#### 4.4. The Complex Sentence

A complex sentence consists of two or more clauses in a certain relationship to each other. Ten types are distinguished according to differences in relationship and the way in which the relationship is marked. In types 1-5 the clauses are in a co-ordinate relationship: in types 6-10 the second clause is subordinate to the first. The subordinate or dependent clause is marked by a clause-introducer. Clauses in a co-ordinate relationship do not have a clause-introducer. The sequential particle ka in types 1 and 2 and the speech particle ga in type 3 are not analysed as clause-introducers since they may also occur initially in an independent sentence (section 3.2.1) or medially in a nominal clause (section 6.1.2) where in both cases they link elements in a co-ordinate relationship.

##### 4.4.1. The Complex Sentence, Type 1 Sequential

This is the favourite type of complex sentence and consists of two or more nominal clauses (abbreviated 'NomCl') or verbal clauses (abbreviated 'VbCl') optionally linked by the sequential particle ka. The maximum number of clauses which have so far occurred is five. Nominal and verbal clauses stand to each other in a number of different relationships.

In the case of a nominal clause the relationship is determined by its position in the sentence, whether it is sentence initial, medial or final. An initial nominal clause indicates the time or the location of the action of the final clause (examples 28, 29), or gives the theme of the sentence. The theme may be the same as the nominal phrase subject in a following clause (example 30), or as the nominal phrase object (example 31), or may be independent of either (examples 32, 33). A medial nominal clause gives the time or the location of the action of the final clause. Both sentence initial and sentence medial nominal clauses are of type 1A (declarative, simple, section 6.1.1). A final nominal clause has a predicative function and may be of any type (examples, 31, 34, 37, 39).

Examples:

28. /// ògà ésou eì // àbùrá nà nyìne ///

NomCl (location) VbCl

edge of-ear his blood inc appear

'On the tip of his ear blood was appearing.'

AT089

29. /// ìnyá nà nu // ká àvú sì té me ôbhò ///

NomCl (time) VbCl

today the very seq one will reach me hand

'This very day I will get one.'

AT125

30. /// imólo útòmù ésaá ànó nà // èdhyómu èguà í dhì fìdho ///

NomCl (theme) VbCl

friends head three this the food their they eat unite

'These three friends, they eat their food together.'

CG002

31. /// éwai nà nu // ìnyà ká àdhè na á sì wáí ewai nà ///

NomCl (theme) NomCl (predicative)

pond the very today seq day that they will bail pond the

'This very pond, today is the day that they will bail it.'

EG017

32. /// ìkàà édèì // ùkpòrì ágbá nwènè za n' ôtò ///

NomCl (theme) VbCl

old people hair of-cheek flow stay on ground

'The old men, their beards flowed to the ground.'

EG007



b. Future time sequence ('if/when' referring to future time)

Non-final clauses are in the aorist tense with the completive aspect.

The final clause is in the future tense, negative indicative, imperative, or descriptive tense with the incompletive aspect.

Examples 40-46.

c. General time sequence ('whenever')

Non-final clauses are in the aorist tense with the completive aspect.

The final clause is in the aorist tense or negative indicative.  
Examples 47-49.

Two of the above sequences may occur in one sentence. See example 50. In the examples below the following abbreviations are used:

aor : aorist tense	cpl : completive aspect
des : descriptive tense	fut : future tense
imp : imperative	inc : incompletive aspect
ind : indicative	neg : negative
pos : positive	subj: subjunctive
ref : referential tense	

Examples:

a. Specific time sequence

35. /// ó fùnù dhyàna // ó nù kpoukpou // amó-mosyi nà  
                   VbCl:des                   VbCl:des
- he climb enter he knock tap-tap boy the
- le yi í nyinè ///
- VbCl:aor
- again come to appear

'When he climbed up and knocked tap-tap, the boy reappeared.'



36. /// àní àlibó dìrè pàdhe èdhyá nà // ò tòu  
 VbCl:ref  
 wife of-tortoise cook finish yam the she take  
 okikí na sisè ///  
 VbCl:aor  
 pot the put-down

'When tortoise's wife had cooked the yam, she put the pot down.'  
 DF024

37. /// ó fùnú dhyàni n' èkùnù // ka ó gèni ta //  
 VbCl:des VbCl:des  
 he climb enter on top seq he look go  
 ka sá ànàmù ///  
 NomCl (predicative)  
 seq not animal

'When he came to the surface and had a look (he saw that) it was  
 not an animal.'  
 DA021

38. /// bhú nà kòni èsyíóbhò // nà nwásè ///  
 VbCl:des VbCl:neg imp  
 you inc fight wrestling do-not fear

'When you are wrestling, do not be afraid.'  
 AR003

39. /// o nó te // o za tuu // ègìlè gbé rìià //  
 VbCl:des VbCl:des VbCl:des  
 he go-to reach it stay till time small pass  
 ká òkò èsyíá nà // ká èkòri bô èkòri bô ná ò ya ///  
 NomCl (locative) NomCl (predicative)  
 seq pit there the seq maggot big maggot big that it is

'When he arrived, after a little time there were big maggots in  
 the pit.'  
 DJ023

b. Future time sequence

40. /// ò té ni udhè // ka mí nà yla ///

VbCl:aor cpl

VbCl:des inc

it reach cpl tomorrow seq I inc come

'When tomorrow arrives, I will come.'

CA006

41. /// opilopô yi í te nî // ka ó i moni moni eì ///

VbCl:aor cpl

VbCl:neg ind

pig come to reach cpl seq he again not-see not-see him

'When pig came he would not see him.'

CA012

42. /// bhù ná te ni êsyía nà // ká wùrù kàrèsè

VbCl:aor cpl

you go-to reach cpl place the seq do strengthen

bhùe íkpébi wò ///

VbCl:pos imp

keep heart your

'When you reach the place, keep confident.'

AR004

43. /// ò zá ni êníà // gwá bídha ///

VbCl:aor cpl

VbCl:pos imp

it stay cpl thus right! walk

'If so, come on, get going!'

DA037

44. /// mí ta // ka mi wúru iyo n' omù à ///

VbCl:neg ind

VbCl:fut

I not-go seq I will-do what in house qu

'If I don't go, what shall I do in the house?'

AA006

45. /// bhú wuru êníà èníà // edeí sì gbéi wò ///  
 VbCl:neg ind VbCl:fut  
 you not-do thus thus man will kill you

'If you do not keep doing this, you will be killed.' DH046

46. /// bhú nyoni onwi n' ênó nà // àswèi wò ná te àkìè ///  
 VbCl:neg ind VbCl:neg ind  
 you not-put body at now the life your the not-reach town

'If you do not try now, you will not reach the town alive.'

DB043

c. General time sequence

47. /// à ná bhine nì okpa nà // ò tọ imémini ei  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor  
 they go-to dance cpl dance the he take children his  
 bhue n' àkpà ///  
 keep in bag

'Whenever there was a dance, he kept his children in a bag.'

EC015

48. /// àdhè wíí nì // ká à ko egwe ímorobhà ///  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor  
 day dawn cpl seq they call pl bridesmaids

'At day break the bridesmaids are called.'  
 (description of events at weddings)

AM027

49. /// ávuramu nà wòri dhé nì odo nà // ò dhí nì //  
 VbCl:aor cpl VbCl:aor cpl  
 woman the scrape finish cpl mortar the she eat cpl  
 ó te ì ///  
 VbCl:neg ind  
 it not-reach her

'Whenever the woman scraped the mortar clean and ate (the scraps)  
 she was not satisfied.'

FA037





58. /// wa tuu // bhu moni ///

VbCl:pos imp      VbCl:aor  
look till      you see

'Look until you find it.'

E

#### 4.4.3. The Complex Sentence, Type 3 Report

The demarcative features of this type are the occurrence in the initial clause of one of a special group of verbs introducing speech or thought, and the speech particle ga which occurs between the clauses. This type is divided into two subtypes according to whether the verb in the initial clause is a speech verb or not.

##### 4.4.3.1. Type 3A, Speech Verb in Initial Clause

The head of the verbal phrase in the initial clause is one of the following verbs:

bhine	'ask'	do	'argue'	*gu	'promise'
*gba	'tell'	kali	'rebuke'	ko	'call'
*ma	'teach'	me	'agree'	tyi	'shout'
*wei, wo	'say'	vye	'cry'		

Note: \* indicates that these verbs occur in a compound verbal phrase (section 7.4) preceding the verb kye lit. 'give' if a nominal phrase object is present in the clause (example 65).

In this subtype the speech particle is optional (examples 59, 66). It may occur preceding every clause in the speech material (example 60). Following a 1st person singular pronoun as subject of the speech verb the speech particle is ma (example 61). In narrative with frequent conversation the speech verb may be omitted (examples 62, 63). In this case the speech particle is then obligatory. Following the speech verb and/or speech particle there may be a clause or a rankshifted sentence of any type (example 60, 63-67).

Examples:

59. /// àlíbò tyi // òkí wú nù ///

tortoise shout he die cpl

'Tortoise shouted that he was ruined.' (lit. 'he had died')

CA027

60. /// à í wei //

they so say

gá ò zǎ ní êníà // ga á ta na ko ɔtwàl ///

rankshifted sentence

sp it stay cpl thus sp they should-go to call antelope

'They said that if so, they should go and call antelope.' DL066

61. /// mǐ wei // má èní gbei ikpolì êsèni ///

I say sp we not-kill many fish

'I said that we did not kill many fish.'

AA040

62. /// àlíbò // gá òkí dhi dhu ãvù àvù a ///

tortoise sp he not-eat never one one even

'Tortoise (said) that he would never eat a single one.' CK026

63. /// ámo nà // ga sá èníà ///

NomCl

child the sp not thus

'The child said that was not right.'

EH126

64. /// ká ò wei // gá ò somu ya ///

VbCl:declarative

seq he may sp it be-good is

'He said that it was all right.'

EJ029

65. /// ì wo kyé ì // gá zà kòrì êní n' êná ///

VbCl:imperative

they say give him sp stay wait-for us at here

'They said to him, "Wait for us here".'

CG018

66. /// ámo ná í wéí // òkí sí wúru ívo ///

VbCl:interrogative

child the so say he still do how

'So the child said what was he to do?'

EJ017

67. /// ò ko ámo ná // gá ìnyà a // bhu yi úkwó ná ///

rankshifted question sentence

she call child the sp today even you come farm the

'She called the child (and asked), "How about today, are you coming to the farm?"'

FBO53

Note: The rankshifted sentence has the question intonation, (section 4.5).

#### 4.4.3.2. Type 3B, Non-speech Verb in Initial Clause

The head of the verbal phrase in the initial clause is one of the following verbs or pairs of verbs:

moni 'see'

nomu 'know'

syiene 'hear'

tou ko 'think' (lit. take call)

geni moni 'realise' (lit. look see)

ma moni 'perceive' (lit. show see)

The clause following the speech particle may be nominal or verbal. If it is verbal, it must be declarative in contrast to type 3A where the following clause may be of any type.

The first element in this type of sentence may also be the following clause: ò í zà 'if it is'. The sentence then occurs only as a rankshifted sentence as an element of sentence type 10 (section 4.4.10) and not as an independent sentence. See example 93 (page 68).



Note: Following the verb syiene 'hear' the particle ga indicates that the report is secondhand, in contrast to the clause-introducer na (see sentence type 8, section 4.4.8) which indicates that the report is firsthand.

Compare

/// ò syiene // ga ó nò yla ///

he hear sp it inc come

'He heard that it was coming.' (i.e. somebody told him) FB120  
with

/// ò syiene // na ó nò yla ///

'He heard it coming.'

E

Examples:

68. /// ó nomu // gá àká nà ká ìnùmù ágbùrà ///

NomCl

he not-know sp that the seq thing fairy

'He did not know that that was a fairy.'

CB008

69. /// ènì í bhue-enia geni monl //

we so then look see

ga onísò nyoni kyé ni ènì òbhó bô ///

VbCl

sp God put give cpl us hand big

'So we then realised that God had helped us very much.' AB013

70. /// mí tòù ko // gá bhù nomu me bhué nì ///

VbCl

I take call sp you know me keep cpl

'I thought you knew me.'

CH013



#### 4.4.5. The Complex Sentence, Type 5 Immediate Action

This type consists of two verbal clauses. The second clause is in the incompletive aspect which is marked by the particle nà or nò (section 5.4.3.3) and has a pronoun as head of the nominal phrase subject. This pronoun is in concord with respect to number and person with the head of the nominal phrase subject of the first clause. The action of the second clause follows immediately upon that of the first clause.

##### Examples:

76. /// opilopô í pà // ó nò gbe ///  
           pig     so leave       he inc go-home

'So pig left and set off home.'

CA008

77. /// èguà giri // í nà gldhé àlìbo ta ///  
           they turn     they inc go-forward tortoise go

'They turned and started towards tortoise.'

DL038

78. /// ò le fyani yi í bhari n'oku êdhyómu nà //  
           he again fly come to land on dish of-food the  
           ó nò zà kòrí àlìbò ///  
           he inc stay wait tortoise

'He flew again and came and landed on the dish of food and stayed waiting for tortoise.'

DG037

See also example 111 (page 73).

#### 4.4.6. The Complex Sentence, Type 6 Anterior

This type consists of two verbal clauses. The demarcative feature is the clause-introducer kana 'before' 'so that' which occurs initially in the second clause. The action of the first clause has preceded or will precede the action of the second clause.



#### 4.4.7. The Complex Sentence, Type 7 Purpose

This type consists of two verbal declarative clauses of which the second one is in the subjunctive mood or in the future tense. The demarcative feature is the clause-introducer ga 'so that' which occurs initially in the second clause. The clause-introducer may be omitted when the clause is subjunctive (example 84).

This type is distinguished from the type 3 Report sentence (section 4.4.3) since the verb in the initial clause is not restricted. The clause-introducer ga is distinguished from the speech particle ga since the former occurs only in a Purpose sentence whereas the latter has a wider distribution (section 4.4).

#### Examples:

82. /// í gbaia // ga bha kóu dhòu etàì ///  
VbCl:fut

they branch so-that they will- take fire  
collect

'They branched off to collect some embers.'

CE033

83. /// ègwè ákie êní ísúà kwa // ga bhá sì dúu yia ///  
VbCl:fut

people of-town our name prepare that they will out come

'The people of our town Isua got ready to come out.'

AC017

84. /// ká mī tōu íbì tōu kye ì // ó tou dhiesè ///  
VbCl:subj

seq I take nut take give him he should- eat-with-something  
take

'Then I gave him some kernels to eat with (the wine).'

DK014

See also example 107 (page 72).



#### 4.4.9. The Complex Sentence, Type 9 Impersonal Construction

This type consists of two or more verbal declarative clauses. The initial clause is one of a limited number of constructions, all of which have an impersonal subject, i.e. the nominal phrase subject is the 3rd singular pronoun which does not have any antecedent in a previous clause. The following are the most common impersonal constructions:

ó dhùú àká yia	'therefore'	(lit. 'it follows that comes')
ó wùrú ìvo	'why?'	(lit. 'it does what')
ò kó nì ògbé	'almost'	(lit. 'it remained a little')
ò té nì	'it is time'	(lit. 'it has reached')
ò ya	'it is'	(e.g. it is hard ...)
ò zá nì	'if'	(lit. 'it has stayed')

Note: ò zá nì with a following clause occurs only as a rankshifted sentence as an element of sentence type 1 (section 4.4.1) and not as an independent sentence (example 87).

The occurrence of the special introductory clause is one demarcative feature of this sentence type. A second feature is the clause-introducer na which occurs initially in all clauses except the first one.

#### Examples:

87. /// ò zá nì // na bha gbé // ká bhà gbé o ///

rankshifted sentence

it stay cpl that you will-go-home seq you go-home indeed

'If you are going home, then go!'

FB016

88. /// ó dhùú àká yia // na òkí yinìgbè ///  
 it follow that come that he not-come-home

'Because of that, he did not come home.'

FB027

89. /// ó wùrú ìvo // na bhá nà zà dha ùdhí nà òfùrómù //  
 it do how that you inc stay drink wine the empty  
na bhá tou abhii dhiese ///  
 that you not-take kola eat-with-it

'Why are you drinking the wine by itself and not eating kola with it?'

DK050

90. /// ò kó ni ògbé // na ó nò dèlì wùá bhùà ///  
 it stay cpl little that he inc fall die indeed

'He almost fainted, fancy that!'

CB018

91. /// ò té nì // na á sì wúru èdhyómu ànwùmù ///  
 it reach cpl that they will make food of-evening

'It is time to cook supper.'

AA043

#### 4.4.10. The Complex Sentence, Type 10 Unfulfilled Condition

This type consists of two verbal declarative clauses. The demarcative feature is the clause-introducer sa which occurs initially in the second clause. The clauses have special characteristics according to whether they are positive or negative.

##### First clause

Positive : The preverbal í occurs before the verb.

Negative : The negative particle na occurs before the verb.

##### Second clause

Positive : The clause is in the incompletive aspect (marked by nà ).

Negative : The negative particle na occurs before the verb.



Examples:

92. /// ásu mè í wo ku mè // sa mí nà ta ///  
 father my so say give me I inc go

'If my father had told me, I would have gone.'

E

93. ///ò í zà // ga bhu mé lô // sa mí nà wò kú wò ///  
rankshifted sentence

it so stay sp you agree only I inc say give you

'If only you had agreed, I would have told you.'

DL070

Note: See section 4.4.3.2 for details of the construction ò í zà.

94. /// asu mé na wo ku me // sa mí nà ta ///  
 father my neg say give me I inc go

'If my father had not told me, I would have gone.'

E

95. /// ásu mè í wo ku mè // sa mí na ta ///  
 father my so say give me I neg go

'If my father had told me I would not have gone.'

E

#### 4.5. Question Sentences

A question sentence is any simple or complex sentence composed only of declarative clauses with one or both of the following demarcative features:

- a. a question terminal
- b. question intonation

### Question Terminals

i. à occurs in general questions. It usually occurs sentence finally, but for emphasis it may occur finally in every clause in the sentence (example 98).

ii. sàmù occurs in alternative questions. It occurs finally in the first clause. If there is only one clause, it indicates a negative alternative (i.e. 'or not') (example 99).

iii. e occurs sentence finally and indicates doubt or disbelief. The vowel harmonises with the quality of the final vowel of the sentence (examples 101-103).

### Question Intonation

Starting with the verbal phrase of the clause that is semantically a question, the pitch of the remainder of the sentence is raised. This is shown in the examples by an arrow  $\uparrow$ . Examples 104-106.

#### Examples:

96. /// bhú nà sylèné à ///  
you inc hear qu

'Are you listening?'

CZ027

97. /// mí wo ku wo // gá bhò ká ànyá mè à ///  
I not-say give you sp you seq horse my qu

'Didn't I tell you that you are my horse?'

CC048

98. /// mí wo kye bhà à // òdùmúnàbhuagu ká ànyá mè à //  
I not-say give you qu wolf seq horse my qu  
na bhá tou avuramu tou kyê à ///  
that you take woman take give qu

'Didn't I tell you that the wolf to whom you gave the woman is my horse?'

CC053

99. /// ólò ì ná nà ì yíá sàmù ///  
friend her the inc again come qu

'Is her friend coming again or not?'

FB061

100. /// ọ tọu kpai ànàmù sàmù // ọ tọu kpai àfèni à ///  
he will-take feed animals qu he will-take feed birds qu

'Will he use it to feed the animals or the birds?'

DC029

Note: The final a is optional in alternative questions.

101. /// ga bhu fyé mè e ///  
sp you exceed me qu

'(He said) you thought you had beaten me, did you? (you haven't!).'

EJ014

102. /// ilô na ó za enià á tọu édei bhịle bhịlè e ///  
lie that it is thus they take man tell tell

'Can it be that such a lie as this has been told about someone?'

CY050

Note: The object of the clause is frontshifted (section 5.4.3).

103. /// ká bhu wei // ga bhụ gĩdhe ónu êní ta n'ùkwô ùkwô e ///  
seq you say sp you toward mother our go at farm farm qu

'You said that you used to go to meet our mother at the farm, did you?'

FB091

104. /// édei nà bhịne ómini eĩ // ga bhụ dhúmò ///  
man the ask daughter his sp you will-marry

'The man asked his daughter, "Will you marry (him)?"'

DH004

Note: The question sentence (underlined) is rankshifted and forms part of a report sentence, type 3A (section 4.4.3.1).

105. /// bhù tá nì àkìè // bhù | tóu gbà ///  
           you go cpl town       you will-take tell

'If you go to the town, will you tell (anyone)?'

DE017

106. /// bhù | moni éì ///  
           Did you see him?'

'Did you see him?'

CJ033

#### 4.6. Rankshifted Sentences

Sentences whose structure is more complex than that already described have as one or more of their elements rankshifted sentences which function as single clauses. Clauses in a rankshifted sentence are more closely related (i.e. have a greater degree of mutual dependence) to each other than to other clauses in the sentence. There is a ranking scale of closeness of relationship between the clauses as follows:

Clauses in a main/subordinate relationship (types 6-10) are more closely knit than those in a co-ordinate relationship (types 1-5).

When all clauses are co-ordinate, there are three degrees of closeness of relationship as described below: a) being the closest relationship and c) the least close.

- a. Elements of one or both clauses are restricted in some degree (types 4 and 5);
- b. There is a fixed sequence of features between clauses (type 1);
- c. Clauses are linked only by the particle ka or ga (types 2 and 3).

A rankshifted sentence may occur as the non-final element of any sentence type except types 4 and 9, and as the final element of any type except types 4, 5, 9 and 10. Sentences of any type except types 2 and 3 may be rankshifted, provided all the component clauses are declarative (section 4.1). In the examples which follow, the rankshifted sentence (abbreviated 'rs sentence') is underlined, and the analysis of the whole sentence is given after the free translation.

Examples:

107. /// o za tuu // ka ekpukpé yì í te //  
 it stay till seq hawk come to reach  
 ká ò tou owítumu na kye ì // ga ó tou ei tà ///  
 seq he take rat the give him that he should- him go  
 take

'When after some time the hawk arrived he gave him the rat to take there.'  
 CE039

Analysis: rs sentence type 7 as final element of type 1.

108. /// bhù duu tá nì // ná à moni wó nì //  
 you go-out go cpl so-that they see you cpl  
 ka bhù deí ni orou íbè ///  
 seq you fall cpl law ?

'If you go out and they see you, you have broken the 'ibe' law (an old tribal law).'  
 BMO38

Analysis: rs sentence type 8A as initial element of type 1

109. /// mí moni me // ga ó gbe ôfùrómu // na ó bidha  
 I not-able agree that he should- empty that he not-marry  
 go-home  
 omini mè ///  
 child my

'I cannot agree that he should go home without marrying my daughter.'  
 DH006

Analysis: rs sentence type 8A as final element of type 3A.

110. /// ò ya // na bhú ì nómu ikpoli êpilè //  
 it is that you will know many tricks  
 kana bhú si móni esylobho koní nì ///  
 so-that you will be-able wrestling fight cpl

'(The secret) is knowing many tricks so that you will be able to wrestle.'  
 AR002

Analysis: rs sentence type 9 as initial element of type 6.

111. /// ò dhi dhé nì // ká ò pa // ò nò gbe ///  
 he eat finish cpl seq he start he inc go-home

'Whenever he had eaten he would set off for home.'  
 DE019

Analysis: re sentence type 5 as final element of type 1.

112. /// ì dhyaní nì ipwa nà // ka ákie inii nà //  
 they enter cpl room the seq town four the  
á nu inumu // á dhei odhei bô á dhu ///  
 one not-hit thing one not- noise big also never  
 sound

'When they had gone into the 'ipwa' room nothing was beaten and no big noise was made throughout the four villages.'  
 BM077

Analysis: rs sentence type 4 as final element in type 1.

113. /// ka o te údhe // opilopó tà ná te //  
 seq it reach tomorrow pig go to reach  
ká àlìbò vye // ga atyé ì wú nù ///  
 seq tortoise cry sp brother his die cpl

'When next day came and pig arrived, tortoise cried that his brother had died.'  
 CA005

Analysis: rs sentence type 1 as initial element in type 3A.

114. /// mí yì í te // ká mī tōu esení na nyoni n'aki dirè tuu //  
 I come to reach seq I take fish the put in pot cook till  
 mí dirè pàdhe // ká mī ná ko asu me n' omu eì ///  
 I cook finish seq I go-to call father my in house his

'When I arrived I put the fish in a pot and cooked it until when I had finished cooking it, I went to call father in his house.'

AA030

Analysis: two rs sentences type 1 as initial and final element of type 2.

115. /// ò zá nì // na bhú kùnu éì // ná òdwèi oki ná mo wo  
 a b c  
 it stay cpl that you hold him that fear that the is-not you  
 n' ikpebì // ká ò gbori ya // na bhú sì déià ///  
 d e  
 in heart seq it hard is that you will fail

'If you hold him without being afraid you will not easily fall.'

AB030

Analysis:

a	b	c	d	e
rs Sen:9			rs Sen:9	
Sentence: 1				

116. /// amo ná bídha tuu // kà o syiene //  
 a b  
 child the walk till seq he hear  
 ná òbhúenètí nà kpo // ká ò bhiné ì ///  
 c d  
 that lion inc roar seq he ask it

'When the child walked on he heard a lion roaring and he enquired from the box (what to do).'

CE022

Analysis:

a	b	c	d
rs Sen:8B			
rs Sen:1			
Sentence : 2			

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE CLAUSE    i. THE VERBAL CLAUSE

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE CLAUSE

#### i. THE VERBAL CLAUSE

##### 5.0. Introduction

The clause is one phrase or a group of phrases which are syntactically related. It is delimited on phonological criteria: it is bounded by potential pause; no elision occurs across clause boundaries, however short the pause.

##### 5.1. Function of the Clause

The primary function of the clause is as an element of the sentence. Clauses are classed as independent or dependent according to whether or not they can occur as a single, i.e. complete sentence. An independent clause may occur as a complete sentence or as one element of a complex sentence. A dependent clause functions only as one element of a complex sentence.

Dependent clauses are marked by a clause-introducer (sections 4.4 and 11.8): independent clauses are distinguished by the absence of any clause-introducer.

Some clauses also have a secondary function as rankshifted units at phrase rank where they may function as a complete nominal phrase (section 8.2.7) or as an attributive element to the head of the nominal phrase (section 8.2.1.2). In a very few cases a clause functions at word rank as a noun of type 6 (section 10.2.2). Only clauses of the verbal declarative type (section 5.4) have this secondary function as a rankshifted unit.

The inter-relation between independent and dependent clause classes and between the different clause types will be described under each clause type (sections 5.2, 6.0, 6.3).

## 5.2. Basic Structure of the Clause

Clauses are described according to their elements which are phrases, and their syntagmatic features, both relational and demarcative. The demarcative features have the following forms: particles, intonation patterns, reduplication of certain elements, or tone patterns of the verbal phrase. Since there are no verb tone classes, the different tone patterns marking tense etc. remain constant in every clause.

The demarcative features are analysed as part of the clause structure and not of the phrase structure since they may be spread over more than one element in the clause or over the whole clause, and since they cause different types of juncture between the elements of the clause.

The demarcative features are arranged in mutually exclusive i.e. closed sets. Each set is assigned a label in accordance with the category that the features mark, e.g. tense, mood etc.

Clauses do not have any special features marking person and number, with the exception of imperative clauses as described below. Number is marked either by the noun egwe 'people' 'plurality' preceding the noun in question, or in a few cases by a prefix to the noun (section 10.2.2), or by the pronoun and demonstrative classes which have a singular/plural system (section 10.3, 10.5). Where the number is not marked, reference to one or to more than one is clear from the context. At clause rank number is shown by the head of the nominal phrase subject, except in imperative clauses where it is shown by the presence or absence of the nominal phrase subject (section 5.5).

The category of person is marked by the pronoun class which has a three term system (section 10.2). As has already been noted, the person of the pronoun used distinguishes different types of speech quotation (section 3.3).

On the basis of differences in internal structure three main types of clause are distinguished: verbal, nominal and marginal.

Within each main type further subtypes are set up as follows:

<u>verbal</u>	: declarative, imperative, interrogative
<u>nominal</u>	: declarative, interrogative
<u>marginal</u>	: vocative, exclamatory

The verbal clause will be described in this chapter, and the nominal and marginal clauses in chapter 6.

The verbal clause may be independent or dependent. When it is independent it functions as a simple sentence or as any element of a complex sentence, types 1-5. When it is dependent, it functions only as the final element of a complex sentence, types 6-10.

The verbal clause may be simple or compound in structure. When compound it is termed a clause string. The simple clause is described in sections 5.3-5.8 and the clause string in section 5.9.

### 5.3. The Verbal Clause

The verbal clause is composed of nominal, verbal and adverbial phrases (abbreviated 'NP', 'VP', 'AP' respectively in the singular and 'NP's' etc. in the plural). The NP preceding the VP functions as subject. The one or two NP's following the VP function as object. (The NP functioning as subject is abbreviated 'NPs' and the NP functioning as object 'NPo'.) Up to two AP's occur clause finally. It is useful to distinguish between nuclear and peripheral elements since the difference between the types of verbal clause concerns mainly the nuclear elements. The NPs and the following VP form the nucleus of the clause except in one case, viz. when the clause is imperative and the subject is singular there is no NPs (section 5.5). The other phrases in the clause are all optional peripheral elements. The number of NPo's that occur is determined by the class of verbs functioning as head of the VP (section 10.1.1.1). Where there are two NPo's, the first frequently but not invariably, corresponds to the English indirect object (examples 130, 135, 162).

The theoretical maximum structure of the clause may be diagrammed as follows:

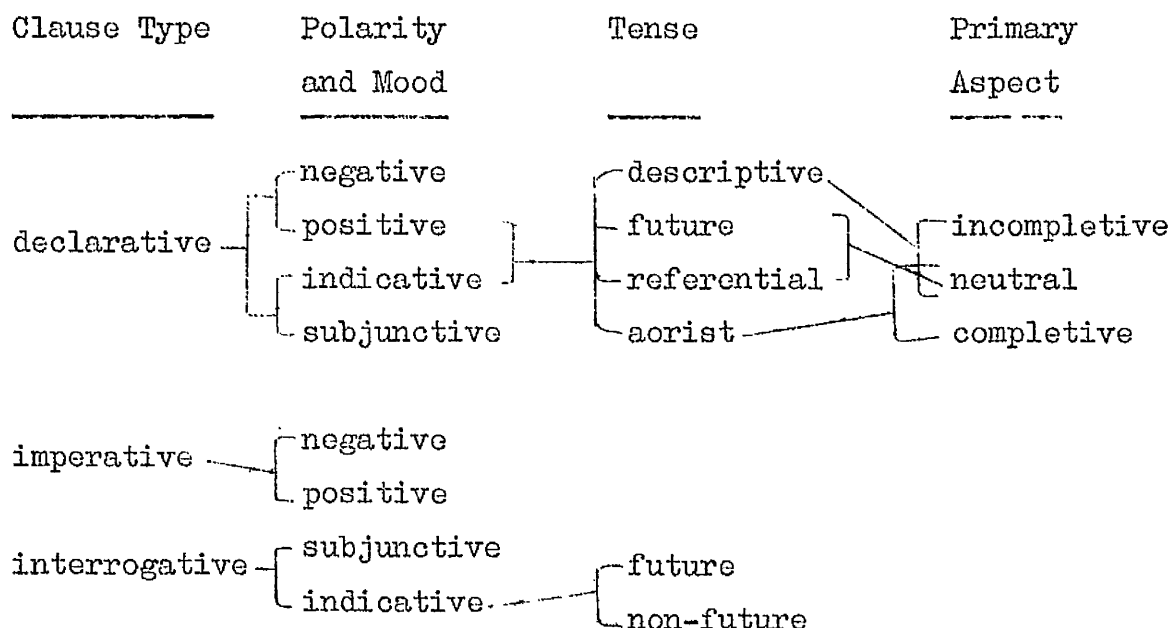
+NPs	+VP	+NP x 2	+AP x 2
nucleus		periphery	

No example of the maximum expansion of the clause has occurred in the corpus. Examples of different expansions of the clause are given in the following sections, and their structure is summarised in the chart below.

NPs	VP	NPo <sup>1</sup>	NPo <sup>2</sup>	AP <sup>1</sup>	AP <sup>2</sup>	Example
	+					163
	+	+				159
	+	+	+			162
	+			+		161
+	+					117
+	+	+				125
+	+	+	+			123
+	+	+	+	+		135
+	+			+		118
+	+			+	+	131
+	+	+		+		154

Verbal clauses are divided into three types on the basis of differences in internal structure: declarative, imperative and interrogative. Each clause type has different demarcative features which are interrelated. The interrelation of the features of polarity, mood, tense and primary aspect is diagrammed on the following page. The interrelation between these features and secondary aspect is described in section 5.7.

### Interrelation of Clause Features



#### 5.4. The Verbal Clause, Type 1 Declarative

The nuclear elements of the declarative clause are a NP functioning as subject followed by a VP. Two subtypes of the declarative clause are distinguished on the basis of the different class of VP and different demarcative features.

##### 5.4.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 1A

In the declarative clause, type 1A the VP is of class A (section 7.3.1) and the clause has features which mark polarity and mood. Positive indicative clauses have features marking tense and primary aspect. Negative and subjunctive clauses are not marked for tense or primary aspect (see the chart at the top of the page).

##### 5.4.1.1. Polarity and Mood

There are two intonation patterns which mark polarity. In the negative pattern the range between the pitches is narrowed so that the high tones are lower and the low tones are higher than the corresponding pitches in positive clauses. The negative intonation pattern extends from the VP to the end of the clause.

The particle dhu 'never' may occur following the VP or clause finally in addition to the negative intonation pattern. The vowel of the particle harmonises with the vowel quality (section 2.2.1) of the preceding word, e.g. dhu in example 119, dhu in example 120.

Tone patterns of the VP further mark both the mood and polarity of the clause. (In the examples which follow, the verb root is underlined, and the structure is given of those clauses which are included in the chart on page 79.)

The negative indicative is marked by the following tone pattern:

verb root:	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern:	HHH	HH	H

Examples:

117. // mí / ta //
- NPs VP
- I not-go

'I'm not going '

BD012

118. // ívuramu akie êní / mise / n' âsù ádhíà //
- NPs                          VP                          AP
- women of-town our not-sleep on night of-that-day

'The women of our town did not sleep the night before that day'

119. // ó / ku me dhu //  
he not-give me never

'He never gives me any '

EA009

120. // á / ko / êníà dhu //
- one not-call thus never

'It is never said like that '

DG012

The negative subjunctive is marked by the negative particle nà occurring initially in the VP and by the tone pattern below. The particle has two allomorphs: nò following the 3rd person singular pronoun in the NPs; nà elsewhere. The vowel of no harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1). The tone pattern is as follows:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	HLL	HL	HL

Examples:

121. // ò / nò / tã //  
           he       neg   should-not-go

'He should not go '

CB005

122. // ò / nò bhúnè //  
           it       neg should-not-break

'May it not break!'

DK016

123. // à / nà zyó / ì / énú //  
           NPs       VP       NPo       NPo  
           one       neg should-   him       wound  
                     not-cut

'He is not to be wounded '

CY010

The positive subjunctive is marked by the positive intonation and the following tone pattern:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	HHL	HL	L

Examples:

124. // bhú / tà //  
           you    should-go

'You should go'

EJ054

125. // onyênýé / bídà / ùgbúswei eì //  
           NPs               VP               NPo  
           everyone    should-walk    road    his

'Let everyone go his own way'

CZ082

Positive indicative clauses are marked by the positive intonation. They do not have a tone pattern marking polarity and mood since they are marked for the further categories of tense and primary aspect.

#### 5.4.1.2. Tense

The only clauses which are marked for tense are positive indicative clauses. The tense category is a four-term system: future, aorist, descriptive, referential, marked by a set of four tone patterns as follows:

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Verb Root</u>		
	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
a. Future	hHL	HL	HL
b. Aorist	HHH	HH	H
c. Descriptive	LLH	LH	H
d. Referential	HHL	HL	HL

Note: When the tone patterns is the same for two tenses or moods, differences in juncture features between the NPs and the VP resolve the ambiguity (section 5.8.2).

a. The future tense is used for action in future time except for the immediate future. The future particle sì or i occurs optionally at the beginning of the VP. The vowel of the particle harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1).



Examples:

126. // mi / syíenè //  
           I       will-hear

'I will hear'

FA118

127. // avuramu ná / sì núu / ònwí //  
           woman the will shake body

'The woman will tremble'

FA040

128. // àlibó / ì kpé me / ọsa mè //  
           tortoise will pay me due my

'Tortoise will pay me what he owes me'

CA018

b. The aurist tense denotes a single non-future punctiliar action, which may be past or present according to the context. It is the usual tense for the main actions in a narrative.

Examples:

129. // àlibò / vilese / ọbho //  
           tortoise open hand

'Tortoise opened his hand'

DG043

130. // mī / ná kidhe / irityadi / ipenī //  
           I got-to remove Richard penny

'I went to get a penny from Richard'

AT047

131. // ò / nu / n' útomu okwei nà / kpoukpou //  
           NPs VP AP AP  
           he hit at top of palm-tree the tap-tap

'He knocked at the top of the palm tree tap tap'

EH066

For examples of the aurist tense denoting non-past action see nos. 48 (page 54), 56-58 (pages 56, 57).

c. The descriptive tense denotes either a non-future state or incomplete action (examples 132-134). The reference may be to past or present time according to the context. The descriptive tense denotes a single complete action only in the following circumstances:

- i. In a non-final clause of a complex sentence type 1 (Sequential).  
Examples 135 (below) and 37-39 (page 52).
- ii. In the context of present time. Example 136.
- iii. As an expression of disgust when it is used instead of the aorist tense in the final clause of a complex sentence type 1.  
Example 137.

Examples:

132. // a / kó / ì / ógbùrà //  
they call him name

'He is called Ogbura'

BC034

Note: The tone of the verb is automatically upstepped before the following L tone.

133. /// ùkpè ókì // ka mi / za / n' ámò gbèrì-kònyì ///  
year that seq I stay in child small very

'In that year I was a very young child'

BC056

134. // á / dhyàni / n' ébhùrà //  
they enter in age-group

'One becomes a member of the club for one's own age-group'

EC002

135. /// mí / dila / ésoù / ásyàí nà / kùkwe // mì / giri dhe ///  
NPs VP NPo NPo AP  
I stretch ear fish the popping I turn finish

'When I heard the fish making a popping noise, I turned right back.'

AT024

136. // ó / wèla ga...

'He says ...' i.e. repeating what a person in the room has just said.  
E

137. /// mí / tòu / énuma / tòu kye / ì // ka ó / tòu sù tùvàla ///  
I take money take give him seq he take throw away

'When I gave him some money he threw it away.' E

Note: In the final clause the VP is compound and the tone pattern is manifested over all the verbs (section 7.4.1).

d. The referential tense occurs mainly when the clause functions as a non-final element of a complex sentence type 1 (Sequential) (examples 138 below and 36 on page 52), or as a rankshifted unit (section 8.2.1.2). It also occurs in independent clauses when the NPo or the AP contains a numerical expression (examples 139, 140). There is often a short pause before the numerical expression.

Examples:

138. /// ó / tuuà // ì / gbei / eseni ///  
it empty very kill fish

'As it (the pond) emptied, they caught the fish.' EGO28

139. // àdhidhe ná / tou bhuè / ígbèl nàà ívuramu ísyònl //  
rich-man the take keep 10 and women 5

'The rich man had fifteen wives' EHO02

Note: The VP is compound and the tone pattern is manifested over both verbs (section 7.4.1).

140. // èní / zâ / tuu iwiki àvù //  
we stay till week one

'We stayed for a week' AP017

#### 5.4.1.3. Primary Aspect

Certain particles may occur with certain tenses. The particles are analysed as demarcative features marking different primary aspects: nì marking the completive aspect, and nà the incompletive aspect. Clauses which have neither particle are analysed as having neutral aspect.

The reasons for analysing the particles as features of the clause and not as elements of the VP are as follows:

a. They are relevant at sentence rank being obligatory in certain sentence types (i.e. types 1, 5 and 10), whereas other attributive elements of the VP are relevant only at phrase rank;

b. Other attributive elements of the VP occur with all tenses whereas the above particles occur only with certain tenses. As tense is a feature of the clause it is more convenient to analyse the particles as forming part of the interrelated system of clause features.

With the aorist tense there is a two term system of primary aspect: completive / neutral. With the descriptive tense there is also a two term system: incompletive / neutral. With the future and referential tenses only the neutral aspect occurs.

The completive aspect is marked by the particle nì which occurs following the 'core' of the VP (see section 7.2. for definition of 'core'). The completive aspect denotes that the action has been or will be completed before the next action begins. The particle nì has two allomorphs: nù occurs following the vowel u; nì occurs elsewhere. The allomorphs harmonise with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1).

#### Examples:

141.    ///    mī   /   me   //   ga   onísò   /   wurú   nù   ///  
                  I   agree        sp   God            do   cpl

'I agreed, (saying) God had done it.'

AT031

142. /// á / gbè /// àdhè / bhí ni o ///  
 one let-go-home day be-black cpl in-fact

'Let's go home! It has got dark, you know.'

FB015

143. /// ó / nomu // ga onísò / kyé ni / eì / ámbò ///  
 she not-know sp God give cpl her child

'She did not know that God had given her a child.'

DC030

For use of the completive aspect in the complex sentence type i see section 4.4.1.

The incompletive aspect is marked by the particle nà occurring initially in the VP. It denotes that the action is happening at the same time as the previous action (examples 144, 145) or will start in the immediate future. The particle nà has two allomorphs: nò occurs following the 3rd person singular pronoun in the NPs; nà occurs elsewhere. The vowel of nò harmonises with the quality of the vowel of the verb root (section 2.2.1).

Examples:

144. /// àdhé / nà bhía // ka ... ì / bhue-eníá ko / ì ///  
 day inc be-black seq they then call her

'It was getting dark and (so) they then called her.'

FB014

145. /// òtá [na í nà tá nà] // onyênyé / nà ma / ikpébì /  
 time that they inc go the each-one inc think heart  
 inùmù [na ó sị dúà dúà ] ///  
 thing that he will buy buy

'As they were going along each person was thinking of what he would buy.'

CG022

Note: The square brackets indicate a rankshifted verbal clause which is functioning as part of a NP (section 8.2.1.2).

146.    /// ò / té ni / udhè // ka mí / nà yla ///  
          it reach cpl tomorrow       seq I    inc come

'Tomorrow I will come.' (lit. when it reaches tomorrow ...) CA028

For use of the incompletive aspect in complex sentence type 5 see section 4.4.5 and in type 10 see section 4.4.10.

#### 5.4.2.    The Verbal Clause, Type 1B

In the declarative clause type 1B the VP is of class B (section 7.3.2) and the clause has only one demarcative feature. This is the intonation pattern marking polarity. The clause has either the positive or the negative intonation (section 5.4.1.1).

#### Examples:

147.    // èsèni / yá / bhèè //  
          fish       are    indeed

'There is plenty of fish' EGO26

148.    // àlibó / i mo / n' ewai nà //  
          tortoise again is-not ib pond the

'Tortoise was no longer in the pond' CJO42

#### 5.4.3.    Emphasis in the Declarative Clause

In some declarative clauses special syntagmatic features have occurred which give emphasis to one of the phrases. As these features have occurred only in declarative clauses and not in imperative or interrogative<sup>1</sup>, a system of emphatic / non-emphatic clauses in general has not been set up. Instead the features are analysed as modifications to the basic declarative clause structure. Only declarative clauses of type 1A occur with these special features.

The syntagmatic features differ according to which phrase in the clause, whether the NPs, VP, or NPo, is made emphatic.

---

1. In imperative and interrogative clauses emphasis is expressed by elements (e.g. adverbs) which are analysable in terms of the regular clause structure.

### Emphasis on the NPs

A clause with emphasis on the NPs has the following special characteristics:

- a. The VP has a tone pattern which is the same as that of the subjunctive, i.e.

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	HHL	HL	L

- b. Future time is shown by the occurrence of the future particle i or si initially in the VP (example 150).

- c. Negative clauses have the negative intonation pattern and the negative particle *sa* clause initially, preceding the NPs (example 151).

- d. The definitive particle ni occurs following the 'core' of the VP (see section 7.2 for the definition of 'core'). The particle has the same allomorphs as the completive particle (see page 87). It is distinguished from the completive particle since it may occur with the future particle and function in negative clauses, whereas the completive particle does not occur in either of these environments.

### Examples :

149. /// èní / sìsè dhe / ékpau nà // mí / za ni / n'utumu ôkò ///  
we set finish hooks the I stay def at tail of-canoe

'When we set all the hooks, I was the one at the back of the canoe.'

AP013

150. // òkí / si kilo nì //
- he will rule def

'He will be the one to rule'

151. // sa mĩ / gbei nĩ //
- |     |   |      |     |
|-----|---|------|-----|
| not | I | kill | def |
|-----|---|------|-----|

'I was not the one who killed it' EE096





156. // mí / ma dhi / inumu / nù dhíà //

I yet not-eat thing indeed eat

'I have not eaten anything at all'

E

Note: For the addition of the final -a to the verb root in examples 155, 156, see section 10.1.1.3.

### Emphasis on the NPo

To emphasise the object, the NPo is frontshifted and precedes the NPs. It may be followed by the sequential particle ka, or by the speech particle ga in speech material.

### Examples:

157. // inùmù ávù á / í / moni //

NPo NPs VP

thing one even they not-see

'They did not see anything at all'

CKO34

158. // ávuramu nà / ka á / ì gbéià //

NPo NPs VP

woman the seq they will kill

'It is the woman that they will kill'

DHO36

### 5.5. The Verbal Clause, Type 2 Imperative

When the subject person is singular the clause has only one nuclear element. This is a VP of class A (section 7.3.1). When the subject person is plural the VP is preceded by a NP functioning as subject and consisting of the pronoun bha.

The positive imperative clause has three demarcative features, two obligatory and one optional. The obligatory features are the positive intonation (section 5.4.1.1) and the following tone pattern:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	LLH	LH	H

When the pronoun bha occurs as subject there is ambiguity between the positive imperative and the descriptive tense. This ambiguity is resolved by the context (example 160).

The optional demarcative feature is the exclamation gwa 'right!' 'come on!' which may occur clause initially in positive clauses (examples 163 and also 43, page 53).

Examples:

159. // vìlèsé / òbho //

VP            NPo

open          hand

'Open your hand'

DG042

160. // bhá / kpè me / èdhyá mè //

pl          pay me          yams my

'Pay (pl.) me for my yams'

DK028

Note: The same clause in a different context could mean

'You pay me for my yams (i.e. but others do not)'.

For the reasons for analysing me as part of the VP see section 11.3.

161. // zá / dànyì //

VP            AP

stay          quiet

'Be quiet'

EJ055

162. // nyòni / éì / ègbilàmu //

VP            NPo            NPo

put          him          lock

'Lock (your leg) around his' (a wrestling expression)

AR016

163. // gwá tòu //

VP

come-on take

'Come on, take it'

DK011

The negative imperative has three demarcative features, all obligatory: the negative particle nà occurring initially in the VP, the negative intonation (section 5.4.1.1) and the following tone pattern:

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	HLL	HL	<u>HL</u>

When the pronoun bha occurs as subject there is no distinction between the negative imperative and the negative subjunctive. The ambiguity is resolved by the context (example 165).

Examples:

164. // nà wùrà //  
neg do

'Don't do it'

EE094

165. // bhà / nà bhíne / álibò //  
you neg ask tortoise

'Do not (pl.) ask tortoise'

DL092

Note: The same clause in another context could mean  
'you should not ask tortoise.'

## 5.6. The Verbal Clause, Type 3 Interrogative

The structure of the interrogative clause is the same as that of the declarative clause (section 5.4) except that either one of the NP's is of type 4 (interrogative, section 8.2.4) or one of the AP's is of type 1B (interrogative, section 9.2.1).

The interrogative clause has obligatory demarcative features marking mood and tense. It has no features marking polarity. Only clauses which are semantically positive occur. (As has already been described, question sentences which are differentiated from interrogative clauses may be positive or negative, section 4.5).

The interrogative clause also has two optional demarcative features: the interrogative intonation in which the pitch of the whole clause is raised, and the question particle à which may occur sentence finally. The analysis of the question particle as a feature of the clause even though its occurrence is finally in the sentence, admittedly means that at times the demarcative feature of the unit is not adjacent to or within the unit itself. However, this presents only a practical and not a theoretical problem. The alternative analysis would be to set up interrogative sentences in contrast to declarative sentences. This would lead to a lot of reduplication of description since the relationships between clauses in the two types of complex sentence are to a very large extent parallel.

There are differences in structure and in obligatory demarcative features according to which phrase is interrogative, so on this basis two subtypes are distinguished.

#### 5.6.1. The Verbal Clause, Type 3A Interrogative NPs

The VP is of class A (section 7.3.1) and has a tone pattern which is the same as for the subjunctive, i.e.

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	HHL	HL	HL C

The clause is further marked according to tense. The tense category here has two terms: non-future is unmarked and future is marked by the future particle si .

The definitive particle ni occurs following the 'core' of the VP (see section 7.2 for the definition of 'core').

Examples:

166. // òyó / bhuene ni / akie nà //  
           who           have    def    town the

'Who owns the town?'

CF027

167. // iyó / si nyine ni / ânô //  
           what    will    cause   def    this

'How will this happen?'

FD038

168. // òyó / za ni / edèl [na ó yi] //  
           who    stay   def    man    who he not-come

'Who did not come?' (lit. Who is the man who did not come?)

Note: The rankshifted clause (enclosed in brackets) functioning as an element of the NP is marked for negative, not the main VP of the clause.

169. /// iyó / wuru nù // na bhú / gba ni à ///  
           what       do   def       that you   tell cpl qu

'What happened to make you tell?'

DE049

Note: The interrogative clause is the first element of a complex sentence type 8A.

### 5.6.2. The Verbal Clause, Type 3B Interrogative NPo or AP

The VP may be of class A or B. When the VP is of class A the clause is marked for mood. The subjunctive clause is marked by the tone pattern given below. The indicative clause does not have a tone pattern marking mood since it is marked for the further category of tense. The tense category has two terms: non-future is marked by a tone pattern which is the same as that marking the descriptive tense in declarative clauses; future is marked by the tone pattern below and the optional occurrence of the future particle i or si.

<u>Mood / Tense</u>	<u>Verb Root</u>		
	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
subjunctive	HHL	HL	L
non-future	LLH	LH	H
future	hHL	HL	<u>HL</u>

Note: Tone patterns for the subjunctive mood and the future tense in these clauses are the same as for the declarative clause.

#### Examples:

(Non-future is abbreviated 'nfut')

170. // mí / dhúu / êdhó à //

VP:A subj

I should-go where qu

'Where should I go?'

CEO20

171. // bhú / kù me / ínùmh / n'ôtà vo //

VP:A nfut

you give me thing at time what

'When did you give me anything?'

FD014

172. // á / dhì / ókie ínweì / n'ádhè à //

VP:A nfut

one eat time how-many in day qu

'How many times a day does one eat?'

AA044

173. // bhú / ì pá / òvó a //

VP:A fut

you will choose which qu

'Which will you choose?'

CY009

174. // ò / ya / n'êdho //

VP:B

he is at where

'Where is he?'

CY039

175. /// àlibó / lè wùrú / ìvo / tuu //

VP:A nfut

tortoise again do how until

ka ó / na le gbei ni / edèl à ///

seq he go-to again kill cpl man qu

'How has tortoise managed to kill another man?'

EK031

Note: The interrogative clause is the first element of a complex sentence type 2.

## 5.7. Secondary Aspect

One or more phrases in a clause may be reduplicated. This reduplication has been analysed as a demarcative feature marking secondary aspect. Three different aspects are distinguished according to which phrases are reduplicated: habitual / intensive, repetitive, and distributive. Clauses without any reduplication are analysed as having the fourth aspect: neutral.

The category of secondary aspect is distinguished from that of primary aspect as it may occur together with each of the primary aspects: with the incomplete (examples 176, 177); with the complete (example 179); with the neutral (examples 180, 181).

There are restrictions on which clauses may have the different aspects as shown in the table below.

Clause Type	Habitual/ Intensive	Repetitive	Distributive	Neutral
Declarative	+	+	+	+
Imperative	-	+	-	+
Interrogative	+	-	+	+

Habitual / Intensive Aspect

The final phrase of the clause is repeated. The context determines whether the meaning is habitual or intensive.

Examples :

176. // òbhò ínùmù ná ègwè ekwesú nà wùrà wùrà ...  
   VP         VP  
             hand of-thing that people heathen inc do do
- 'customs that the heathen used to practise ...' BC059
177. // ó nò syìl ta ègilè ânwùmù ídhlana á nà gbe  
             it inc move go time of-evening how they inc go-home
- n' ùkwó nà ùkwó nà //  
                     AP           AP
- from farm the farm the
- 'It was getting on towards evening time when people used to go home from the farm' CZ048

Note: The preposition in the AP is not repeated.



178. // ò za-nye n' êsyíà èsyíà //

AP AP

he be-startled in there there

'He was transfixed at that very place'

CB018

179. // adógbo ôdàú syina ni adhu su nù sú nù //

VP VP

wreath of-name pass cpl eye float cpl float cpl

'It was Odau's wreath that used to float down first'

BM069

Note: This is a verbal clause string (section 5.9).

180. // ó tà êdhô èdhô //

NPo NPo

he go where where

'Where does he usually go?'

E

181. // ò zá ni // na ó sì mǒni sise dhe

it stay cpl that he will be-able put finish

enuma nà énuma na //

NPo NPo

money the money the

'If he can really put down all the money'

AM007

### Repetitive aspect

Either the VP alone or the VP and NPo (and AP if present) are repeated.

### Examples:

182. // ò wa wa úgyo nà //

VP VP

he look look stone the

'He looked and looked for the stone'

CA034

1831 // í wàì èwáí nà wàì èwáí nà //

VP      NPo      VP      NPo

they bail pond the bail pond the

'They went on bailing and bailing out the pond'

CJ038

184. // à í dyii êgwe ímo n' ôbhò dyií êgwe ímo n' ôbhò //

VP      NPo      AP      VP      NPo      AP

they so tie pl children in hand tie pl children in hand

'So they kept on giving the children gifts'

EF020

Note: 'To tie somebody's hand' is an idiom for 'to give a gift.'

185. /// opilopó yì í te nì // ka ó moni moni eì ///

VP      VP

pig come to reach cpl seq he not-see not-see him

'When pig came he would not see him at all'

CA012

### Distributive Aspect

The NPs, unless the head of it is the distributive noun onyênyê<sup>1</sup> 'each person', and the final phrase of the clause are repeated. The VP is also repeated if the NPo has a pronoun head (example 186).

### Examples:

186. // ògwè ògwè za ta êtyì na ó dhyomu bhà dhyomú bhà //

NPs   NPs                      VP   NPo                      VP   NPo

group group stay go place that it please them please them

'Each group went to the place they liked'

BJ007

---

1. onyênyê is not the regular reduplicated form of onye which would be \*onyonye.

187. //    onyenyê      ná      duu      dhe      âminî      âminî    //
- NPs                          NPo                NPo

each-person go-to go-out finish water water

'Everybody went to take a good bath'

FB074

188. //    onyênyê      pa      dhou      útwò      útwò    //
- NPs                          NPo                          NPo

each-person lift take basket Basket

'Each person picked up a basket'

FB009

189. // onyênyé dù ìyó ìyo //
- NPs                      NPo      NPo

each-person buy what what

'What did each one buy?'

E

In complex sentence type 5 (Immediate Action) the reduplication is spread over both clauses.

190. // onyênyê pa // ò ò dhyàní dhyàna ///  
each-person start he inc enter enter

'Everybody began to go to bed'

FB006

Note: For change in the form of the verb see section 10.1.1.3.

191.    ///    ákiè      ákiè      kou      dhe    //   í   nà   kpòri   íviè   gbe   gbe   ///
- NPs                  NPs    VP                  VP
- town   town   steer finish   they inc   sing   song go-home go-home

'Each town got their boat into place and went home singing'

BM009

## 5.8. Relationships between Elements of the Verbal Clause

### 5.8.1. Vowel Harmony

There is vowel harmony between the NP and the VP in the following circumstances:

a. When the head of the NPs is a monosyllabic pronoun, the vowel of the pronouns has one of two forms, either a closer or a more open quality (section 2.2.1), harmonising with the vowel quality of the following verb.

#### Examples:

192.	mi me	'I agree'	DL140
193.	mí mōni me	'I cannot agree'	E
194.	bhù yi	'you come'	CZ009
195.	bhù dhi	'you eat'	FA012
196.	ò dire eseni	'she cooked a fish'	DG023
197.	ò du akani	'she bought cloth'	CC017
198.	i gbe	'they go home'	EG033
199.	í bídha	'they walk'	FDO34

b. When the head of the NPo is the 3rd person singular pronoun, it has one of two forms, with either a closer or a more open vowel quality, harmonising with the vowel quality of the preceding verb.

#### Examples:

200.	ò dose í	'he begged him'	EB021
201.	ò tou kye í	'he gave it to him'	DK068
202.	ò kori éi	'he waited for him'	FB060
203.	ò kali éi	'he rebuked him'	FA129

### 5.8.2. Juncture Features

The juncture between phrases in the clause is marked by tone on one of the syllables at the boundary. When the juncture involves the VP there are different types of juncture according to the type of clause and its polarity, mood and tense. The juncture not involving the VP (e.g. between NPo and AP) remains constant.

#### Juncture of NPs and VP

The juncture between the NPs and the VP is marked in terms of the tone of the final syllable of the NPs. There are three types of juncture: upstepped high (h), high (H) and low (L).

h juncture: The final tone of the NPs is a h tone.

H juncture: The final tone of the NPs is a H tone.

L juncture: The final tone of the NPs is a L tone when the NPs ends in a L tone, and a HL glide when the NPs normally ends in a H tone.

Clauses have the following types of juncture:

<u>Clause Type and Features</u>	<u>Juncture</u>
<u>Declarative Clause, Type 1A</u>	
Positive indicative    aorist	L
descriptive	H
future	H
referential	h
Negative indicative	h
Positive subjunctive	h
Negative subjunctive	L
<u>Declarative Clause, Type 1B</u>	
Positive	L
Negative	h
<u>Imperative Clause</u>	
Positive	H
Negative	L
<u>Interrogative Clause</u>	
Subjunctive	h
Non-future	H
Future	H

Note: The hypothesis is here put forward that the tone of a former pronominal prefix to the verb transferred to the previous syllable (the final syllable of the NPs) when the prefix was lost. Some evidence for this hypothesis can be seen from Degema, a closely related language (section 1.0), where all verbs still have the pronominal prefix.

Degema // ́ómo yò / ò-der / esen //  
                     NPs                  VP                  NPo  
                     child the      he-cook      fish      'The child cooked fish'

Engenni // ́ámo ná / ðire / eseni // (L juncture)

Degema // ́ómo yò / ́ó-der / esen // 'The child did not cook fish'

Engenni // ́amo ná / ðire / eseni // (h juncture)

Examples of juncture of NPs and VP (using VP me 'agree')

a. NPs consisting of noun only: ̀álí̀bò 'tortoise' (final L tone)

L juncture (LJ) aorist      ̀álí̀bò LJ me > ̀álí̀bò me

H juncture (HJ) descriptive      ̀álí̀bò HJ me > ̀alibo me

h juncture (hJ) neg. indic.      ̀álí̀bò hJ me > ̀alibó me

ìkpí̀l̀àma 'snail' (final H tone)

L juncture      aorist      ìkpí̀l̀àma LJ me > ìkpí̀l̀àmâ me

H juncture      descriptive      ìkpí̀l̀àma HJ me > ìkpí̀l̀àma me

h juncture      neg. indic.      ìkpí̀l̀àma hJ me > ìkpí̀l̀ámá me

- b. NPs consisting of pronoun only: o 'he'

L juncture aorist                      ò    me

H juncture descriptive o me

### h juncture neg. indic.                      ó    me

- c. NPs consisting of noun followed by a relative construct:

édèl [na ó kari ôkó nà] 'the man who carved the canoe'

Noun	Relative construct
------	--------------------

L juncture aorist      édeì na ó kari ôkó nà me

H juncture descriptive édeì na ó kari ôko na me

h juncture neg. indic. édeì na ó kari ôko ná me

Note: The second syllable of àlǐbò 'tortoise' and of ôkó nà 'the canoe' is upstepped only before a following L tone (section 2.3.1).

## Juncture of VP and NPo

The juncture between the VP and the NPo is marked in terms of the tone of the initial syllable of the NPo. There are two types of juncture: high and neutral. All verbal clauses have high juncture except the positive imperative and the descriptive which have neutral.

High juncture: The initial syllable of the NPo is a H tone when the NPo starts with a H tone, and a HL glide when the NPo normally starts with a L tone, except in the case of monosyllabic pronouns when the syllable preceding the pronoun has a H tone. Nouns of tone class B in aorist clauses are an exception (section 10.2.3).

Neutral juncture: The tone of the NPo is unaffected. Therefore when the NPo begins with a H tone, the neutral juncture cannot be distinguished from the high juncture. The mood and tense of the clause determine the type of juncture.

Examples of juncture of VP and NPo (using VP gèni 'look at')

a. NPo consisting of noun only: igbo 'fish net' (initial H tone)

H juncture future      ọ gèni HJ igbo > ọ gèni igbo

N juncture pos. imp.      gèni NJ igbo >      gèni igbo

ùkwô 'farm' (initial L tone)

H juncture future      ọ gèni HJ ùkwô > ọ gèni ùkwô

N juncture pos. imp.      gèni NJ ùkwô >      gèni ùkwô

b. NPo consisting of pronoun: ègúà 'they' (disyllabic)

H juncture future      ọ gèni HJ ègúà > ọ gèni ègúà

N juncture pos. imp.      gèni NJ ègúà      gèni ègúà

bhà 'you pl.' (monosyllabic)

H juncture future      ọ gèni HJ bhà      ọ gèni bhà

N juncture pos. imp.      gèni NJ bhà      gèni bhà

Note: The second tone of the verb in the positive imperative is upstepped high before the following L tone due to automatic upstep, and in the future is H tone before a following H or HL glide (see rule 1, page 24).

Juncture of other phrases

The juncture between two NPo's is neutral, i.e. the tone of both phrases is unaffected.

Examples:

àswâ 'hoe'    // kyé / ì / àswâ //      'Give him a hoe'  
                                  VP      NPo      NPo

úlè 'banana' // kyé / ì / úlè //      'Give him a banana'

igbo 'net'    // kyé / ì / igbo //      'Give him a net'



The juncture between the VP or the NPo with the AP, or between two AP's differs according to whether or not elision takes place. Where there is no elision (i.e. with AP types 1, 3 and 4 which have an initial consonant) the juncture is neutral.

Examples:

syínùmù 'very much' // ò / vye / syínùmù //  
(initial H tone) VP AP

'He cried very much'

bhèè 'really' // ò / vyé / bhèè //  
VP AP

'He really cried'

kpúdùmù 'splash' // ò / dei vai / n'âmìnì / kpúdùmù //  
(initial H tone) AP AP

'He fell into the water splash'

wùrùmù 'plop' // ò / dei vai / n'âmìnì / wùrùmù //  
(initial L tone) AP AP

'He fell into the water plop'

Note: The initial tone of syinumu and of kpudumu and also the tone of vye are upstepped before the following L tone.

When there is elision between the phrases (i.e. with AP type 2 which has an initial vowel) the juncture is high: the initial syllable of the AP has a H tone when the AP starts with a H tone, and a HL glide when the AP normally starts with a L tone.

Examples:

ògbê 'a little' // ò / vye / ògbê //  
(initial L tone) VP AP

'He cried a little'

ògbê 'a little' // ò / nwene / n' úgbuswei / ògbê //  
 (initial L tone) AP AP

'It split on the path a little'

òfùrómu 'empty' // ò / dhi / edhya / òfùrómu //  
 (initial L tone) NPo AP

'He ate yam by itself'

obô 'a lot' // ò / dhesyi / obô //  
 (initial H tone) VP AP

'It was a long time' (lit. it lasted a lot)

Note: For examples of junctures from text material see chapter 9.

#### 5.9. The Verbal Clause String

The verbal clause string consists of two to six clauses, which share the same subject, and which have the same function as a single clause. Each clause has at least one peripheral element (NPo or AP), apart from the final clause of the string which may but need not be followed by a peripheral element. A series of verbs not followed by either a NPo or AP, is not analysed as a clause string, but as a compound VP. The reasons for this analysis are given in section 7.4.

The clause string is analysed as a single unit rather than as a sequence of clauses forming a complex sentence for the following reasons:

- a. The string has only one NPs which occurs in the first clause.
- b. The string is marked once only for polarity, mood, tense and secondary aspect, and the markers occur in the first clause, whereas in a complex sentence each clause is marked separately.
- c. The string differs in function from a complex sentence since it may function in certain sentence types where a rankshifted sentence would not occur (section 4.6), e.g. as the final element in sentence type 5 (Immediate Action) see example 209.

The verbal clause string has the following special characteristics in addition to those already described:

- a. All clauses in any one string are of the same type.
- b. The maximum number of peripheral elements in any one of the clauses is two (examples 206, 207).
- c. Where the string is in either the neutral or the completive primary aspect all its clauses are marked (examples 207, 208). Where the string is in the incompletive primary aspect only the first clause is marked (example 209). Where the string is in a secondary aspect other than neutral the reduplication is spread over the whole string (examples 210-212).
- d. A VP of class B occurs only in the final clause of the string (examples 213, 214).
- e. The auxiliary verb may occur in the VP of any clause (example 215). The only preverbal which has occurred in a non-initial VP is le 'again' (example 216). Postverbals may occur in the VP of any clause (example 206).
- f. The tone of the VP in non-initial clauses varies according to whether the VP occurs in the middle of the clause string or as the final element.

<u>Clause</u>	<u>Syllables</u>	<u>String Medially</u>			<u>String Finally</u>		
		3	2	1	3	2	1
Descriptive		HHH	HH	H	HHH	HH	H
Pos. Imperative	}	HHH	HH	H	LLL	LL	L
Pos. Subjunctive							
Neg. Indicative							
All other clauses		HHH	HH	H	HHL	HL	HL

Examples:

The following frame is used:

//	o	/	tou	/	inya		dire	/	n'eki	//
	.		.							
	NPs		VP		NPo		VP		AP	
	she		take		rice		cook		at market	

Note: This string comprises two clauses, the boundary of the first clause being indicated by the vertical line.

String medially

descriptive	ó	tou	inya	dire	n' êkí	'she cooks rice at the market'
	.	.				
				HH		
pos. imperative		tou	inya	dire	n' êkí	'cook rice at the market'
		.				
				HH		
future	o	tou	inya	dire	n' êkí	'she will cook at the market'
	.	.				
				HH		

String finally

descriptive	ó	tou	inya	dire		'she cooks rice'
	.	.				
				HH		
pos. imperative		tou	inya	dirè		'cook rice'
		.				
				LL		
future	o	tou	inya	dirè		'she will cook rice'
	.	.				
				HL		

g. There are different junctures between clauses in a string depending on whether the auxiliary verb ná occurs in the following clause or not.

Juncture of two clauses without the auxiliary verb ná

The juncture is marked by a h tone on the final syllable of the first clause. In the following examples the end of the first clause is shown by a vertical line.

Examples :

igbo (HH)	mī do ɪgbó	dhemesè	'I wove the net bigger'
	I weave net	enlarge	
òki (LH)	mī du ôkí	dirè	'I bought fish and
	I buy fish	cook	cooked it'

Note: For juncture involving nouns of tone class B (LL) see 10.2.3.

When a h tone occurs preceding the juncture, the final syllable of the first clause is H and is not upstepped because of the phonological rule that two h tones do not occur in sequence (section 2.3.1).

Example:

ákà (HL) mī to áka | dhi dhè 'I roasted the corn and  
I roast corn eat finish ate it all'

Juncture of two clauses with the auxiliary verb ná

The juncture is marked by a H tone on the final syllable of the first clause, unless the final syllable has a h tone, in which case the tone remains h.

Examples :

àzyì (LL)    ò   ta   ázyi } ná   sa   gbei   ânàmù   'He goes to bush to  
               he go bush      to shoot kill animal   hunt'

igu   (HH)    ò   ta   igu   |   ná   sa   gbei   ânàmù   'He goes to the hill  
               to hunt'

éda	(HL)	o	ta	éda		na	sa	gbei	ânàmù	'He goes to the river to hunt'
ùkwô	(LHL)	o	tá	ùkwó		na	sa	gbei	ânàmù	'He goes to the farm to hunt'

Notes: i) For the reason for the change from a final tone glide to a single tone in ukwo see section 2.3.1, tone glides page 25.

ii) The H tone of na is not upstepped in the last two examples because of the phonological rule that following a h tone a H tone is not upstepped until a L tone has interposed.

If the clause string is long and there is a pause at the end of one of the clauses, the juncture there is neutral (i.e. the final tone of the first clause is unaffected). Compare the final tone of each clause in example 217.

h. The maximum number of clauses which have occurred in a clause string is six (example 217). The usual number is two to four. Imperative clause strings are rare (examples 218-220). A series of commands normally occurs as a complex sentence type 2 if positive and type 4 if negative (sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.4). Imperative and interrogative clause strings have a maximum of two clauses in the corpus analysed (examples 218-223).

j. The sequence bhùe 'keep' followed by eníà 'thus' is in process of fusing. The construction never occurs as the sole VP in a clause, and there has been a change in the semantic meaning. The construction is best translated as 'then'. It is still analysed as VP plus AP as the verb is marked for polarity, mood and tense in the same way as any initial verb in a clause string. It is written with a hyphen : bhue-enia.

Examples:

204. aorist                    èdhí            nà    bhue-eníá    bhiè  
       tense                    palm-fruit the    them    get-soft

'Then the palm-fruit got soft'

AS007

205. descriptive    ó    bhùé-èníá    dose    ádhídhe    nà ...  
       tense                    she    then    beg    rich-man    the

'When she then begged the rich man ...'

DA007

Examples of verbal clause strings

Note: The boundary of non-final clauses in the string is shown by a vertical line, and a slight pause between the clauses by a colon.

Declarative clause strings

206. // à / kpei dhé / i / ɔnwí: | dina dhe / i / elò: |  
       NPs        VP        NPo    NPo    |    VP        NPo    NPo    |  
       they wash finish him    body    rub finish him pomade  
  
       tou / awo | nyoni dhé / i //  
       VP    NPo    |    VP        NPo  
       take shirt    put finish    him

'They washed his body, rubbed him with pomade and dressed him in a shirt'

DD070

Note: The postverbal dhe in both initial and non-initial clauses.

207. // ènì / swai dhòu / oko / n' évu |  
       NPs        VP        NPo    AP    |  
       we    carry    take    canoe on shoulder  
  
       swai lai na dhyani / n'ewù //  
                           VP            AP  
       carry turn to    enter    in inlet

'We carried the canoe on our shoulders and turned to enter the inlet'

AT053

208. // à / ná tou ni / utunu owuo na | yi i sue ni //
- NPs      VP                                  NPo                                  VP

they go-to take cpl bunch of-palm the come to appear cpl

'They had gone to get the bunch of palm and had come back'

EH020

Note: Both classes are marked by ni for the completive aspect.

209. /// ávuramu nà / í pà // ó / nò tòu / eí |
- NPs                                  VP                                  NPo

woman the so start she go-to take him

ta / adhu udhyomu ávù ///

VP                                  NPo

gp eye of-juju one

'So the woman set off to take him to see a juju'

EB029

Note: The clause string is the final element in a complex sentence type 5 (Immediate Action).

210. // èni / tou / igiré na | deì / déì //
- NPs      VP                  NPo                  VP                  VP
- we      take crocodile the      sell      sell

'We took the crocodile (meat) and kept selling it'

AT103

Note: The string is in the repetitive secondary aspect.

211. // adhógbo ôdàú / syina ni / adhu | su nù / sú nù //
- NPs                                  VP                                  NPo                                  VP                                  VP
- wreath of-name      pass cpl      eye      float cpl float cpl

'It was Odau's wreath that used to float down first'

BM069

Note: The string is in the habitual secondary aspect. Both clauses are marked for the completive aspect.



212. // onyênyé / du / ínùmù [ná ò dhyomu éi ya] | yì / yì //
- NPs          VP                          NPo                          | VP VP

each should-buy thing that it please him is come come

'Each person should buy something he likes and come' CG015

Note: The string is in the distributive secondary aspect. The NPo contains a rankshifted clause string functioning as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

213. // àdhíde íkpílámá / ríi ní / isyisya òkó na | ya //
- NPs                          VP                          NPo                          | VP:B

king of-snail pass cpl middle of-canoe the is

'The leader of the snails had moved to the middle of the canoe (and was still there)'

DL136

Note: The final VP is of class B.

214. // òkó ná / fyé ní / bha | ya //
- NPs                          VP                          NPo                          | VP:B

canoe the exceed cpl them is

'The canoe is too big for them'

DL019

215. // ì / kou dhe / oko | ná bhari / n' êbhùmù : |
- NPs                          VP                          NPo                          | VP                          AP

they steer finish canoe to land on sand-bank

duu dhe / àmìnì //

VP                          NPo

go-out finish water

'They steered the canoe and landed on the sand bank and had a good bath'

BM030

Note: The auxiliary verb ná occurs initially in the second clause of the string.

216. // ò / ḅidha dhyanị ni / n'unwoni aki |  
           NPs           VP                   AP  
           he walk       enter cpl       in mouth of-pot  
           kpina kime dhe   le yi í duu nu / n' otò  
                               VP                   AP  
           tread circle finish again come to go cpl on ground

'It walked onto the rim of the pot, trod right round and came again to the ground'

EKO45

Note: The preverbal le occurs in a non-initial VP.

217. // ò / í bhue-enia | kunu / amo na | nyoni n'uvomu omù: |  
           NPs       VP   AP |   VP   NPo       |   VP       AP  
           he so   then       held child the   put in inside house  
           ṭou / úgyo | ṭou firi bhue / amo nà: | ṭou / ede |  
           VP   NPo |   VP                   NPo |   VP   NPo |  
           take stone   take press keep child the take rope  
           fari lei padhe / enúswèl //  
                   VP                   NPo  
           tie close finish       entrance

'Then he took hold of the child and put him inside the house and put a stone on top of him and took a rope and tied the door'

FB084

Imperative clause strings

218. // za / ápidhémù | zà //  
           VP       NPo |   VP  
           stay   seat       stay

'Remain seated'

FA012

219. // bùrèbùre / onísò | ṭòu kù mè //  
           VP       NPo |   VP  
           pray       God   take give me

'Pray to God for me'

BD028

220. // nà t<sub>o</sub> / okpo inumu | tou wuru / edei ebhura wò //
- VP NPo VP NPo
- neg take bad thing take do person of-same-age your
- 'Do not do evil to your neighbour' (lit. your contemporary)
- DJ053

Interrogative clause strings

221. // òyó / za t<sub>o</sub> n<sub>i</sub> / udhi me | t<sub>o</sub> dha dhe n<sub>i</sub> / n'âzyì //
- NPs VP NPo VP AP
- who stay take cpl wine my take drink finish cpl in bush
- 'Who has been taking my wine and drinking it all in the bush?'
- AG008

222. // ívùrèmu / m<sub>o</sub>n<sub>i</sub> / íyó | wurà //
- NPs VP NPo VP
- women will-be-able what do
- 'What will the women be able to do?'
- FB126

223. // m<sub>i</sub> / t<sub>o</sub> / adhya na | tou wuru / iyo //
- NPs VP NPo VP NPo
- I should-take snake the take do what
- 'What should I do with the snake?'
- CE009

CHAPTER SIX

THE CLAUSE      ii. THE NOMINAL CLAUSE      iii. THE MARGINAL CLAUSE

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## CHAPTER SIX

### THE CLAUSE      ii. THE NOMINAL CLAUSE      iii. THE MARGINAL CLAUSE

#### 6.0.      The Nominal Clause

The nominal clause is always independent. It may occur as a simple sentence or as an element of a complex sentence type 1 (Sequential) or as the final element of a complex sentence type 3A (Report).

The nominal clause is composed of one or two nominal phrases as nuclear elements and an adverbial phrase as the optional peripheral element of some types. On the basis of differences in internal structure two main types of nominal clause are distinguished: type 1 declarative and type 2 interrogative. Each type is further divided into subtypes as follows:

<u>declarative</u>	: simple, appositional
<u>interrogative</u>	: simple, appositional, locative

#### 6.1.      The Nominal Clause, Type 1 Declarative

The declarative clause has features which mark polarity. Positive clauses have the positive intonation. Negative clauses have the negative intonation and the negative particle sa preceding the final NP. (See section 5.4.1.1 for positive and negative intonation patterns.) Declarative clauses are divided into two types: type 1A simple and type 1B appositional.

##### 6.1.1.      The Nominal Clause, Type 1A Simple

This type consists of a single NP of any type except type 4 (interrogative).

#### Examples:

224.    /// àdhè      èviè // ò ta ...  
          day   another      he   go

'Another day he went ...'

225. /// ùkwó nà // á ì kunu atòdhya ///  
           farm the       they will grow cocoyam

'In the farm they will grow cocoyam.'

CZ018

226. /// omíni ádhimù ///  
           child orphan

'(He was) an orphan.'

FD002

227. /// inùmù íbìrìmàni ///  
           thing of-wonder

'(It is) a wonderful thing!'

DC032

228. /// ótà [na á tọ ana avi nyoni padhe] nà // ...  
           time that they take one of-leg put-on finish the

'At the time that } the stirrups had been put on ...'  
                       When)

CC047

Note: The NP includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2). See also examples 229-230 below.

229. /// okó bo [na ó karà] ///  
           canoe big   that he carve

'It was a big canoe that he carved.'

DL006

230. /// èbhùrù [na ó kari enià] ///  
           famine that it be-strong thus

'There was a severe famine.'

FA004

231. /// sa ókì ///  
           neg he

'It's not him.'

EE094

232. /// sá ànàmù ///  
neg animal

'It's not an animal.'

DA021

### 6.1.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 1B Appositional

This type consists of two NP's in apposition followed optionally by one AP. The juncture between the phrases is neutral (i.e. there are no tone changes). When the clause is positive the two phrases may be linked by the sequential particle ka (example 235). If the clause is part of a complex sentence type 3 (Report) ka may be replaced by the speech particle ga (example 236).

The two phrases are analysed as one clause and not as two since there is frequently elision at the juncture of the phrases, whereas there is no elision at a clause boundary (section 5.0). The two phrases differ from two NP's constituting an extended NP type 1 (section 8.3.1) in function, since they are followed by a AP or a new clause and not by a VP, and in structure since the sequential particle does not occur in an extended NP.

#### Examples:

233. /// ègìlè ókì nà / ègìlè íbhwè /// í / nà yia ...  
NP NP NPs VP  
time that the time of-flood they inc come

'That time was the flood season. They were approaching...'

AC007

234. /// mé / àdhídhè /// mí / sì kpé ...  
NP NP NPs VP  
I rich-man I will pay

'I am a rich man. I will pay ...'

CA023





Examples:

238. // èkòrì nà / vá ìgíni ávù //  
           maggot the emp kind one

'The maggots are really the same'

DJ040

239. // ìbà ádhe nà / vá èníà //  
           every day the emp thus

'Every day was just like that'

CF017

240. // vá ìgíni ùkwó ávú nà o //  
           emp kind of-farm one the indeed

'It was still in the same farm, you know'

CZ019

241. // vá àvàrìviè //  
           emp ?

'Just as I said!'

AG011

## 6.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 2 Interrogative

The interrogative clause has two optional demarcative features: the interrogative intonation in which the pitch of the whole clause is raised (example 242); and the question particle à which occurs clause finally (example 246). Like the verbal interrogative clause, the nominal interrogative clause has no features marking polarity. Only clauses which are semantically positive occur. Three types of interrogative clause are distinguished: type 2A simple, type 2B appositional, type 2C locative.

### 6.2.1. The Nominal Clause, Type 2A Simple

This type consists of a single NP of type 4 (interrogative).

Examples:

242.    ///    ↑    ùkwó    òyo    ///  
                   farm of-whom

'Whose farm is it?'

CZ012

243. /// ábhwà // gá ìyo ///  
           dog           sp what

'The dog (said), "What?"'

FB159

Note: The interrogative clause is the final element in a complex sentence type 3A (Report).

#### 6.2.2. The Nominal Clause, Type 2B Appositional

This type consists of two NP's in apposition of which one is of type 4 (interrogative). The phrases may be linked by the sequential particle ka.

#### Examples:

244. /// ànô / ànàmù vo ///  
           NP           NP:4  
           this    animal which

'What animal is this?'

E

245. /// òyô / ka édèl [ na bhú sì dhúmo  
           NP:4                           NP  
           who    seq   man   who   you will marry  
           n' uvomu   egua   utomu   esaa   nà ] ///  
           in inside   them   head   three   the

'Who of the three men will you marry?'

CG090

Note: The NPo includes a rankshifted clause functioning as a relative construct (section 8.2.1.2).

246. /// mì í bhinè // àkâ / ká ìnlwùrà vó à ///  
   NP                           NP:4  
           I   so   ask           that   seq   work   which   qu

'So I asked, "What job is that?"'

AA017

Note: The interrogative clause is the final element in a complex sentence type 3A (Report).

### 6.2.3. The Nominal Clause, Type 2C Locative

This type consists of a NP of type 1. There are two demarcative features: the question introducer tene 'where is?' which precedes the NP; and the raised pitch of the final tone of the clause.

#### Examples:

247. /// tènè àlìbò /// 'Where is tortoise?' CA008  
 [ - - - ]
248. // tènè úgyo nà /// 'Where is the stone?' CA025  
 [ - - - ]
249. /// tènè olilo /// 'Where is a bottle?' E  
 [ - - - ]

### 6.3. The Marginal Clause

The marginal clause is always independent. It usually occurs as a simple sentence. It occasionally occurs as the final element of a complex sentence type 3A (Report). The marginal clause is distinguished from the nominal clause as it does not have any feature marking polarity. There are two types of marginal clause: type 1 vocative, and type 2 exclamatory.

#### 6.3.1. The Marginal Clause, Type 1 Vocative

This type consists of a NP type 1 followed optionally by the vocative particle è which is analysed as a demarcative feature of this type.

#### Examples:

250. /// ólò è /// 'Friend!' CJ028
251. /// adhógbò è /// 'Elephant!' EE126

252. /// ìkírì í kò // gá àlìbò ///  
 grasscutter so call sp tortoise

'So grasscutter called out "Tortoise!"'

FA080

253. /// ònyímósýì // ga ání mè ///  
 . . .

'The man said, "My wife!"'

ED040

### 6.3.2. The Marginal Clause, Type 2 Exclamatory

This type consists of a single element, an exclamation. The following are the most common:

áyê	'expression of amusement'
e:	'expression of pleasure'
èhényì	'I thought so!'
enyi	'yes'
enyíènyì	'no'
gwa	'come on! that's done!'
ohónyì	'you wait - something is going to happen'
taa	'too bad!' 'oh dear!'

Note: gwa also functions as an optional demarcative feature of the positive imperative clause (section 5.5).

#### Example:

254. /// ànàmù // ga taa /// àlibó wùrú ìvo ...  
 animal sp too-bad tortoise do what

'The animal (said) "Too bad! Why has tortoise ..."

CC022

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE VERBAL PHRASE

#### 7.0. Phrase Classes

On the basis of their function in the clause three classes of phrase are distinguished: verbal phrase, nominal phrase and adverbial phrase. The verbal phrase will be described in this chapter, the nominal phrase in chapter 8, and the adverbial phrase in chapter 9.

#### 7.1. Function of the Verbal Phrase

The VP functions as a nuclear element of the verbal clause. There are two classes of VP which have different classes of verb functioning as the head and which have different functions. The two classes are: Class A with a class A verb as head, and Class B with a class B verb as head. Class A functions in any verbal clause. Class B functions only in declarative clauses and in interrogative clauses with an interrogative NPo or AP. Differences of structure of the VP parallel the differences in class, so there is no need to set up different types of VP.

#### 7.2. Structure of the Verbal Phrase

Each class of VP may be either of simple or compound structure. The simple VP has one verb functioning as head; the compound VP has two or more verbs functioning as head. The head is optionally preceded by preverbals and/or the auxiliary verb, and is optionally followed by postverbals and/or reinforcers. The latter may be separated from the rest of the phrase by an NPo or AP, thus making the phrase discontinuous. It is useful to refer to the head and the pre- and postverbals as the core of the phrase and the reinforcers as the margin, since the margin is the same for all classes and types. The core of the VP is described in sections 7.3 and 7.4 and the margin in 7.5.

### 7.3. The Simple Verbal Phrase

This consists of a single verb functioning as head which is optionally preceded by the auxiliary verb ná and/or one of the following preverbals:

í	'as a result'	'then'	'so'
i	'again'		
le	'again'		
ma	'still'	'yet'	

The head is optionally followed by one or two of the following postverbals:

dhe	'finished, thoroughly'
me	'1st person singular object'
wo	'2nd person singular object'

The reasons for analysing me and wo as elements of the VP and not as pronouns are given in section 11.3.

The pre- and postverbals harmonise with the vowel quality (see section 2.2.1) of the following or preceding verb respectively, and together with the auxiliary verb will be described in detail in sections 11.1-11.3. The auxiliary verb usually follows the preverbal (examples 225, 256), but may precede le 'again' (example 257).

#### 7.3.1. The Simple Verbal Phrase, Class A

A class A verb (see section 10.1.1) functions as head which may be preceded and followed by attributive elements as described above.

Examples: (The VP is underlined.)

255.    ó    ma    na    te    esyì    na ...

PreVb   Aux   Vb:A

he yet go-to not-reach place which

'He had not yet reached the place where ...

CB007

256.    ì    í    na    ke    âkàù

PreVb   Aux   Vb:A

they so go-to chop-down cotton-tree

'So they went to chop down a cotton-tree'

BJ040





preceded by the auxiliary verb or by one preverbal, or followed by one postverbal.

Examples:

262. ènì ná ya n'omu isùkúlù  
Aux Vb:B

we go-to are in house of-school

'We had gone to the school building (and were still there)'

AT099

263. édei nà ma ya n'êbhà êsyimù  
PreVb Vb:B

man the still is at part of-back

'The man is still at the back'

EE082

264. inùmù ná ò ya me n'íkpebi  
Vb:B PostVb

thing which it is me in heart

'thing which is in my heart'

CG016

mo 'is not', 'does not exist' may occur with one preverbal or one postverbal.

Examples:

265. esouí ma mo i  
PreVb Vb:B

ear yet is-not him

'He could not yet hear' (because the speaker was too far away)

FA125

266. àswèi èí i mo  
PreVb Vb:B

life his again is-not

'He did not live any longer'

BM089



269.    ó        ma        nyane        yila  
           PreVb        Vb:A        Vb:A  
           he    yet not-arise    stand

'He had not yet got up'

CG077

270.    àkpídhà        áyèì        nwune        ríì        nì        amò  
    Vb:A        Vb:A  
    change    pass    cpl    child

'The shrimp had become a child'

DC031

271.    ò        za        sa        gbei        anamu  
           Vb:A    Vb:A    Vb:A  
           he    stay shoot    kill animal

'He went on shooting animals'

CF002

272.    ò        la        ná        dhyani        n'unwoni        aki        nà  
           Vb:A    Aux        Vb:A  
           it crawl    to        enter    in mouth    of-pot    the

'It crawled into the mouth of the pot'

EK056

273.    ò        ta        ná        te        ni        akiè  
           Vb:A    Aux        Vb:A  
           he    go        to reach    cpl        town

'He had reached the town'

CD005

274.    bhù        sye        dhe        sise  
           Vb:A    PostVb    Vb:A  
           you    remove finish put-down

'You take it right off (the fire) and put it down'

DF022





### 7.5. The Verbal Phrase Margin

One or two reinforcers (see section 11.6) may occur following the core of the VP. If the VP is followed by a NPo or AP the reinforcers occur clause finally and the VP is discontinuous. When the reinforcers occur following a NPo they may form part of the NPo or part of the VP. The analysis is clear from the context. When the VP is negative and emphatic, the margin consists of the reinforcer *nu* followed by a repetition of the verb (section 5.4.3, examples 155, 156).

The reinforcers are analysed as attributive elements of the VP and not as constituting separate AP's since they can never be expanded and since they function as attributive elements also of the NP (section 8.2.1.1). For this latter reason they are also not analysed as features of the whole clause.

#### Examples:

284.    *bhá*    *yì*    *í*    *pa*    *kýe*    *eni*    *ivlè*    *lòú*  
                     Vb    Aux    Vb    Vb    NPo    NPo    rf  
           you    come   to   raise   give   us    song   just

'Just come (pl.) and start the song for us'

DL120

285.    *mí*    *nà*    *zà*    *swèi*    *igbó*    *bhòò*  
                             Vb    Vb    NPo    rf  
           I    inc   stay   cast   net   for-long

'I went on casting the net for ages'

AT077

286.    *òkò*    *ná*    *nà*    *và*    *bìdhá*    *bhòò*  
                                     Vb    rf  
           canoe   the   inc   emp   move   for-long

'The canoe really went on moving a long way'

DL136



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE NOMINAL PHRASE

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## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE NOMINAL PHRASE

#### 8.0. Function of the Nominal Phrase

The primary function of the NP is as an element of the clause as follows:

- a. as subject preceding the VP and as object following the VP in verbal clauses;
- b. as the sole element or either of two elements of the nominal clause.

The NP also has a secondary function as a rankshifted unit at phrase rank as follows:

- a. as part of the complex head of a simple NP when it is termed a genitive construct (section 8.2.1.3);
- b. as either of two elements of an extended NP (section 8.3);
- c. as a complete AP type 2 (section 9.2.2);
- d. as an element of AP types 1 and 4 (sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.4).

#### 8.1. Structure of the Nominal Phrase

The NP may be either simple or extended. The simple NP has one element functioning as head. The extended NP consists of two or more simple NP's functioning as a single phrase (section 8.3).

#### 8.2. The Simple Nominal Phrase

Simple NP's are divided into seven types according to the element that functions as head of the phrase.

##### 8.2.1. The Simple NP, Type 1 Noun as Head

This type may have either a simple head, consisting of a single noun (abbreviated 'Nn'), or a complex head, consisting of a noun followed by a genitive construct. The complex head will be described in section 8.2.1.3.

The head is optionally followed by up to three of the following attributive elements in the order given: adjective ('Adj'); numeral ('Num'); possessive ('Poss'); demonstrative ('Dem'); modifying construct; reinforcer ('rf'). The term 'modifier' is used to cover all the attributive elements which are not constructs, since these all have similar juncture features with the head of the phrase. The modifiers will be described first in section 8.2.1.1, and then the modifying constructs in section 8.2.1.2.

#### 8.2.1.1. Modifiers

The order of occurrence of the modifiers will be described first, followed by an account of the vowel harmony, juncture features and concord operating within the NP. All these are relational features of the NP type 1.

##### a. Order of Occurrence

The order of occurrence of the modifiers in the NP is as follows:

- adjective (section 11.3)
- numeral (section 10.4)
- pronoun functioning as possessive (section 10.3)
- demonstrative (section 10.5)
- reinforcer (section 11.6)

Two reinforcers may occur together (examples 291, 295).

##### Examples:

290.    ò      nó      ko      ûtòmù      éva      âyò  
                                     Nn      Num      Dem  
          he go-to   call   head      two   other

'He went to call the other two people'

CG046

291.    ólo    i    nà    a    dhuú    nu    ebhà    na    ó    za    na    yi    nì  
             Nn   Poss   rf   rf

friend   her the also follow cpl part that he stay the come cpl

'Her friend too came from the place where he had been'

FB096

292.      ámò      g**̀**bèrì      ávù  
             Nn        Adj       Num  
             child    small    one

'one small child'

ED021

293.      àní        w**̀**o        áká        nà  
             Nn       Poss    Dem       rf  
             wife    your    that    the

'that wife of yours'

DA066

294.      ìpàmù      ésaa      w**̀**ò  
             Nn        Num       Poss  
             pound    three    your

'your three pounds'

BM037

295.      akpákìdhó      lo**̀**ù        a  
             Nn                rf        rf  
             type-of-snail only even

'even just a non-edible snail'

FB016

There is one exception to the order given above. Nouns of class A denoting relationship (section 10.2.1) are obligatorily possessed, and the possessive immediately follows the noun.

Compare	<u>àtyé</u> m <b>̀</b> e v <b>̀</b> lè	'my dear brother'
	Nn Poss Adj	(atye Noun, class A)
with	ólò v <b>̀</b> l <b>́</b> e m <b>̀</b> e	'my dear friend'
	Nn Adj Poss	(olo Noun, not class A)
Compare	ónu me b <b>̀</b> ô	'my grandmother'
	Nn Poss Adj	(lit. 'my big mother')
		(onu Noun, class A)
with	ùkwó bo m <b>̀</b> e	'my big farm'
	Nn Adj Poss	(ukwo Noun, not class A)

### b. Vowel Harmony

The following modifiers harmonise with the vowel quality of the preceding word in the NP: demonstrative, singular pronouns (all monosyllabic) functioning as possessives, and the numeral avu 'one'. (See section 2.2.1 for the vowel harmony system.)

#### Examples:

##### Demonstratives

òdò    ầnò	'this rope'	ódo    ầnò	'this mortar'
òdò    ầyò	'another rope'	ódo    ầyò	'another mortar'

##### Singular Possessives

òdó    m̀è	'my rope'	ódo    m̀è	'my mortar'
òdó    ì	'his rope'	ódo    ì	'his mortar'
àwò    fàí    wò	'your new shirt'	àwó    dho    wò	'your old shirt'

##### Numeral 'avu'

òdò    ầvù	'one rope'	ódo    ầvù	'one mortar'
èdhyà    gb̀èrì    ầvù	'one small yam'	èdhyá    bô    ầvù	'one big yam'

### c. Juncture Features

The juncture between a modifier and the previous word in the NP, whether this is the head or another modifier, is marked by tone on one of the syllables at the boundary.

When a modifier begins with a vowel, (unless it is a single vocalic morpheme), the normal rules of elision operate, i.e. the first vowel at the juncture is elided together with its tone (section 2.4). In addition there is a high juncture. The initial tone of the modifier which is normally L is a HL glide. The following modifiers begin with a vowel: numerals, demonstratives and disyllabic possessives.

Examples:

<u>Numerals</u>	àvù	'one'	ìsyòní	'five'	
èdhyà	àvù	'one yam'	èdhyà	ìsyòní	'five yams'
ìgbo	àvù	'one net'	ìgbo	ìsyòní	'five nets'

Disyllabic Possessives

	èní	'our'	ègúà	'their'	
èdhyà	èní	'our yam'	èdhyà	ègúà	'their yam'
igbo	èní	'our net'	igbo	ègúà	'their net'

<u>Demonstratives</u>	ànò	'this'	àkà	'that'	
èdhyà	ànò	'this yam'	èdhyà	àkà	'that yam'
ìgbo	ànò	'this net'	ìgbo	àkà	'that net'

When a modifier begins with a consonant or is a single vocalic morpheme there is no elision. The juncture with the previous word is of three types: unstepped high, low or neutral. The following modifiers begin with a consonant or consist of a single vowel: adjectives, monosyllabic possessives, reinforcers. The type of juncture operating with the adjectives and reinforcers is morphologically conditioned and cannot be predicted from the phonology (sections 11.4.3 and 11.6).

a. Upstepped high juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture is h tone.

<u>Examples:</u>	èdhyà	'yam'	ìgbo	'net'
------------------	-------	-------	------	-------

Adjectives

èdhyá	bô	'big yam'	ìgbó	bô	'big net'
èdhyá	doramù	'long yam'	ìgbó	doramù	'long net'

Monosyllabic Possessives

èdhyá mè	'my yam'	igbó mè	'my net'
edhyá wò	'your yam'	igbó wò	'your net'
edhyá ì	'his yam'	igbó ì	'his net'
edhyá bhà	'your (pl) yam'	igbó bhà	'your (pl) net'

Reinforcers

èdhyá nà	'the yam'	igbó nà	'the net'
èdhyá o	'yam indeed'	igbó o	'a net indeed'

b. Low Juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture, if normally L, remains L, and if normally H is a HL glide.

Examples:Adjective

èdhyà gbê	'a little yam'	igbô gbê	'a few nets'
-----------	----------------	----------	--------------

Reinforcer

èdhyà a	'yam too'	igbô a	'a net too'
---------	-----------	--------	-------------

c. Neutral Juncture

The final tone of the first word at the juncture remains unchanged.

Examples:Adjectives

èdhyà vìè	'good yam'	*igbó vìè	'a good net'
èdhyà gbèrì	'small yam'	*igbó gbèrì	'big net'

Note: \* The second tone of igbo is upstepped to h tone before the following L tone. This is automatic upstep (section 2.3.1).

Reinforcers

èdhyà lóù	'only yam'	ìgbo lóù	'only a net'
èdhyà nu	'this very yam'	ìgbo nu	'this very net'

d. Concord

The only modifier which concords with the head of the NP is the demonstrative, since this is the only modifier which has singular and plural forms (section 10.5). There is concord with respect to number between the noun head and the demonstrative when the noun is marked morphologically for number (i.e. is of type 3, 4A or 5C, see section 10.2.2).

Examples:

ámo ànò	'this child'	ímo ínà	'these children'
okílomu àkà	'that chief'	ikílomu íkà	'those chiefs'

Otherwise there is no concord between the noun and the demonstrative.

Example:

ùdhyómu àkà	'that juju'	ùdhyómu íkà	'those jujus'
-------------	-------------	-------------	---------------

8.2.1.2. Modifying Constructs

A rankshifted AP, clause or sentence may function as an attributive element of the NP. This is termed a modifying construct. The construct usually occurs preceding the reinforcer (i.e. following all the other modifiers) but it may occur following the reinforcer (example 296). There are three types of modifying construct: a) relative; b) additive; c) locative. (In the examples on the following pages the construct is enclosed in square brackets.)





299. ávùrànmù [na ó weìà gá òkí ko odhoni eì inìi ]  
           Nn           RelCon (rankshifted sentence)

woman who she say that she not-call husband her name

'the woman who says that she will not call the name of her husband'

BM082

b. Additive Construct

One or two rankshifted AP's type 4 (see section 9.2.4) may function as additive constructs (abbreviated 'AddCon'). This type of construct is common.

Examples:

300. ávuramu ávù [nàà ódhoni eì] í bhye bhue imo ivà  
           Nn       Num       AddCon

woman one and husband her so bear keep children two

'A woman and her husband had had two children'

EP001

301. onu-ámò [nàà okílôlô ] nà yia  
           Nn           AddCon

mother and cutlass inc come

'The mother was coming with a cutlass'

FB125

302. á kye ì ùkpóu ísyóvà [nàà etíte ákàni ]  
                           Nn       Num       AddCon

they should- him 6d 7 and scrap of-cloth  
           give

[nàà ágbìdh-úbhwòni ]

AddCon

and sherd

'They should give him 3/6d and a rag and a sherd'

EE041

303. ìkpílámá á [nàà ivie ná ] nà yia  
           Nn       rf       AddCon

snail also and song the inc come

'The snail too came singing'

EK035

For numerals above 11 a NP with an additive construct is used.

Example:

304.      ígbèl [nàà lsyíleni enyisà]  
             Nn                  AddCon  
             ten      and   shilling   six  
             'sixteen shillings'

AT105

For further examples see section 10.4.

c. Locative Construct

One rankshifted AP type 1A (section 9.2.1) may function as a locative construct (abbreviated 'LocCon'). This type of construct is rare.

Example:

305.      árùsú [n' ùvòmù áki esaa]      ná      sì      ríi ...  
             Nn                  LocCon                  rf  
             rice   in inside   pot   three   the   will   pass  
             'The rice in the three pots will pass ...'

DH047

8.2.1.3. Complex Head

The noun head may be followed by another noun with or without its own attributive elements, i.e. by a rankshifted NP. This rankshifted NP is termed a genitive construct (abbreviated 'GenCon'). The noun head and the genitive construct function as a single unit, being followed by the same attributive elements as a single noun. The noun and the genitive construct are therefore analysed as constituting a complex head.

Examples: (The complex head is underlined.)

306.      ògéni      ádhù      áno      ná  
             Nn                  GenCon      Dem      rf  
             looking of-eye   this   the

'this mirror'

CG026

307. ò moni ani áde [na ó nó zà dhí èdhyábò]  
                     Nn GenCon RelCon  
                     NP

he see wife of-name who she inc stay eat cassava

'He saw Ade's wife who was eating cassava'

DK006

The genitive construct is marked by an initial h tone. When the construct normally begins with a h tone the marker of the construct is not distinguishable. When the construct normally begins with a L tone this is replaced by a hL glide.

Examples:

ómù 'house' ògà ómù 'side of the house'  
                     Nn GenCon

ùkwô 'farm' ògà ùkwô 'edge of the farm'  
                     Nn GenCon

The genitive construct may consist of a head element only, as in the examples given so far, or of a head followed by one or two attributive elements. It is frequently not easy to tell whether an attributive element is attributive to the head of the construct or to the complex head. In some cases the attributive element collocates only with one of the two heads and not with both and thus clarifies the analysis (examples 308-311). In the majority of cases it is the context alone which determines the analysis.

308. ì pa dhou oko ábhiì ávú kye ì  
                     Nn GenCon Num  
                     NP

they lift take canoe of-kola-nut one give him'

'They took a canoe of kola nuts and gave it to him'

DK048

Notes: The semantics preclude the analysis of the numeral as attributive to the head of the construct, i.e. 'the canoe of one kola nut'.

The hL glide on the numeral is a juncture feature (section 8.2.1.1) not a construct marker.

- [illegible]

he inc take him go face of-juju one

'He was taking him to see one juju'

EB029

Notes: In this context the numeral does not collocate with adhu and is therefore analysed as attributive to the head of the construct.

The initial tone of udhyomu is H not h since no L tone has interposed following the previous h tone (section 2.3.1).

310.    ànô    ká    èdhívie    ádhíà    [na    mǐ    vyé ]    nà  
    Nn            GenCon            RelCon            rf  
       NP

this seq lament of-that-day that I cry the

'This is the lament I made on that day'

DH045

Note: Since the verb vyē 'cry' frequently co-occurs with the noun edhivie 'lament', it is preferable to analyse the relative construct as attributive to the complex head.

311. á ta na wa omu edei ânó [na ó yi ôfai ôfai]
- Nn Dem RelCon
- Nn GenCon
- NP

one go to look-for house of-man this who he come new new

'Let's go and look for the house of the man who very recently arrived'

DBO

DB034

Note: The verb yi 'come' does not collocate with omu 'house' therefore the relative construct is analysed as attributive to the head of the construct.

One of the attributive elements of a genitive construct may itself be a genitive construct, and further degrees of recursion are possible. The highest number of degrees of recursion which have occurred in the corpus is three (example 313).

Examples:

312. ànì éì ávuramu ákie êsyíà [na ó nyeni za ] nà  
 Nn GenCon RelCon rf  
 Nn GenCon  
 NP

wife his woman of-town of-that-place that she live stay the

'His wife was a native of the town where he lived' DB009

313. ènù êkì ôgèni ádhú nà  
 Nn GenCon  
 Nn GenCon  
 Nn GenCon rf  
 NP

mouth of-market of-looking of-eye the

'the price of the mirror' CG025

The genitive construct usually occurs immediately following the noun head, preceding all the attributive elements. Two examples have been found of an adjective occurring between the noun head and the genitive construct. This happens if the collocation of the noun and the adjective is very frequent, e.g. in example 314 azyi dhia (literally 'bush bad') is the term for 'cemetery'; and in example 315 ákie vuumu (literally 'town being made clear') is the name of a ceremony at New Year.



Examples:

316.    mí    sá    ì                    'I shot it'                    AT128  
          I   shoot it

317.    ì    bisyi    ênì                    'They pushed us'                    AC025  
          they push    us

Certain pronouns may occur with an attributive element as follows:

Pronoun with Relative Construct

The following pronouns may occur with one or two relative constructs.

	1st	2nd	3rd
singular	mè	bhò	òkì
plural	ênì	bhà	èguà

Examples:

318.    mè    [na    mí    nà    gba    êgberigbá    nà ]  
          Pr                    RelCon  
          I    who I   inc   tell    story    the  
          'I who am telling the story'                    CG094

319.    ènì    [ná    ènì    ya    n'ênâ ] [ ná    ènì    geni    tá    nì ]  
          Pr                    RelCon                    RelCon  
          we    who we   are at here    who we   look   go   cpl  
          'We who are here and who have looked at it'                    DA062

### Pronoun with Reinforcer

The same pronouns as listed on the previous page may occur with a reinforcer. Preceding a 'also', however, the forms of the 1st and 2nd person singular are mì and bhù.

#### Examples:

320.      mè    nú    gbei    onu    mè  
            Pr    rf

I instead should- mother my  
                                 kill

'I instead should kill my mother'

EJ067

321.      ènì    lòú    sî    tâ  
            Pr    rf

we    only    will    go

'Only we will go'

E

322.      bhù    a    me  
            Pr    rf  
            you    too agree

'You too agreed'

E

### Pronoun with Additive Construct

A pronoun may occur with an additive construct. The construction has the following restrictions:

a. The head of the NP must be one of the following subject pronouns:

	1st	2nd	3rd
singular	mì	bhù	òkì
plural	ènì	bhà	èguà







8.2.4. The Simple NP, Type 4 Interrogative as Head

This type has an interrogative (abbreviated 'Int') or the interrogative modifier (abbreviated 'IntMod') vo as one of its elements. The interrogative may function as head (examples 330, 331) or as the genitive construct (example 332). The interrogative modifier functions as an attributive element following the head (example 333). The interrogative modifier has a low juncture with the preceding noun, i.e. the final tone of the noun, if normally H<sub>2</sub> is a HL glide.

Examples:      èdhyà            'yam'                      ìgbo            'net'  
                  èdhyà vo    'which yam?'            ìgbô vo    'which net?'

Examples from Texts:

330.      bhú      tà      èdho  
    Int  
             you    go    where      'Where did you go?'                      FA109

331.      iyó      wuru      nù      à  
                  Int  
             what    do    def    qu  
             'What has caused it?'                      FB026

332.      ávuramu      ânò      ká      ànĩ      ôyo  
    Nn    Int as GenCon  
             woman    this    seq    wife of-whom  
             'Whose wife is this woman?'                      CC020

333.      ànô      ka      ídhii      êkò mù      vo  
                                  Nn      GenCon    IntMod  
             this seq      kind    of-affair what  
             'What kind of affair is this?'                      EA014



337. òki zá kori âna [evúmù ya]  
RelCon

he will-stay wait the-one fat is

'He will wait for the one with some fat'

CK006

338. ó dhuu âna [bhú mamine bhue] yia  
RelCon

it follow the-one you not-learn keep come

'Because you did not learn properly'

AR037

339. àkâ ka ídhiana [í za wurà] tuu ...  
RelCon

that seq how they stay do until

'That is how they were acting until ...'

EH009

340. avuramu ná nomu idhiana [o wura]  
RelCon

woman the not-know how she will-do

'The woman did not know what to do'

DB044

341. ídhianá [ùté nè tou somu ya ôsyi] nu sá inùmú  
RelCon rf

how mat the take be-good is beauty this not thing

gbamù

telling

'How really beautiful this mat is cannot be described'

CG039









### 8.3.2. The Extended NP, Type 2 Partitive

One of the elements of the second NP is a numeral or a noun denoting quantity.

#### Examples:

353. àmìni yi í tai dhòu (àwó nà) (ògà êbhà àvù)  
NPo

water come to cover take trap the side of-part one

'Water came and reached one side of the trap'

CK019

354. (ímo nà)(avú) nà wùru íniwùrà ...  
NPs

children the one inc do work

'One of the children is working ...'

AA035

355. (àrùsù) (ìkòpù àvù lòu á) mo  
NPs

rice cup one only even is-not

'There was not even one cup of rice'

DH044

356. (èsèní nà) (ògbe á) kọ mo à  
NPs

fish the a-little any remain is-not qu

'Isn't there just a little of the fish left?'

AA038

### 8.3.3. The Extended NP, Type 3 Cumulative

Either both or only the second NP has the reinforcer a or o finally.

#### Examples:

357. (ívùrànmù) (ímòsyì a)  
NP

women men too

'men and women'

AB011



363. ègwè étai nà ka (akúm-edel) (akúm-edel)  
NP

pl tree the seq human human

'The trees were human beings'

EJ018

364. (àdhíà) (àdhía bhòò) // òkì kpomu ya .  
NP

this-day this-day even he be-sick is

'On this very day he is ill'

CC037

365. òkò èsyía nà // (èkòrí bô) (èkòrí bô ná ò ya).  
NP

pit there the maggot big maggot big which it is

'There in the pit there were big maggots'

DJ023

### 8.3.5. The Extended NP, Type 5 Emphatic

A demonstrative or genitive construct which normally occurs following the head of a simple phrase, may occur as the head of a second NP for greater emphasis.

#### Examples:

366. ò nó tou (edada nà) (àkà)  
NPo

he go-to take spear the that

'He went to take that spear'

EE104

367. ò yi í te (èsyí nà)(étyì)  
NPo

she come to reach place the of-name

'She came and reached Etyi's place'

DC023

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## CHAPTER NINE

### THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE

#### 9.0. Introduction

The adverbial phrase class is set up on the basis of its function in the clause. The AP may be similar or identical in structure with the NP, but it is analysed as an AP because it functions as an attributive element and not as the subject or object of the clause. See also section 9.2.2.

#### 9.1. Function of the Adverbial Phrase

The primary function of the AP is as a peripheral element of the clause. It occurs in the verbal clause following the VP, or NP<sub>o</sub> if present, and in the nominal clause following the final NP.

The AP has also a secondary function as a rankshifted unit functioning as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 (section 8.2.1.2). Only certain types of AP have this secondary function. Details are given below.

#### 9.2. Structure of the Adverbial Phrase

There are five types of AP.

##### 9.2.1. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 1

This type consists of a rankshifted NP (abbreviated 'rsNP') preceded by the preposition (abbreviated 'Prep') n' 'in' 'at', or tu 'until'. As all nouns begin with a vowel the preposition n' never has a CV structure. But since the language has no C syllables, the preposition is written as n' indicating the elision of the V element. There is always a high juncture between either preposition and the NP, i.e. the initial tone of the NP, if normally L, is a HL glide.

There are two subtypes. In type 1A the NP is of type 1 (noun as head). This subtype may function as a locative construct in the NP type 1 (page 149). In type 1B the NP is of type 4 (interrogative). This subtype functions only in the interrogative clause.

Examples of Type 1A:

368. ò nyine n' [ísyisya edà]  
                     Prep           rsNP:1

she appear in middle of-river

'She appeared in the middle of the river'

DB049

369. ìkidhè ná ko âlíbo n' [âdhè âvù]  
                                     Prep           rsNP:1

snail go-to call tortoise on day one

'One day snail went to call tortoise'

CK016

370. ò bidha ta tuu [etyi úsuodha bhoò]  
                                     Prep           rsNP:1

he walk go till place of-distance far-off

'He walked to a far distant place'

CJ028

371. à dhí ni udhyori nà tuu [âdhe êsyòni]  
   Prep           rsNP:1

one eat ppl feast the till day five

'The feast lasted for five days'

BM017

Examples of Type 1B

372. á yi n' [êgìlè vo]  
                     Prep           rsNP:4

they should-  
           come at time what

'When should they come?'

CZ008

373. bhú mōni n' [êdhô]  
                                     Prep           rsNP:4

you see at where

'Where did you see it?'

DJ030

### 9.2.2. The Adverbial Phrase, Type 2

This type consists of a NP type 1 of which the head is a noun of class B (adverbial noun, section 10.2.1), e.g. ogbe 'a little'; enia 'thus'; eno 'now'. Such a construction is analysed as an AP rather than as a NPo because it may occur following an intransitive verb, a transitive verb with a NPo, or a distransitive verb with two NPo's. (See section 10.1.1.1 for verb clauses.)

Examples :

374. ... bhá / nà zà dhá / údí nà / òfùrómu  
NPo AP

you inc stay drink wine the emptiness

'(Why) are you drinking the wine by itself (i.e. without eating as well)?'

DK050

Note: dha is a transitive verb.

375.    ò / dhesyi / obô  
               VP                  AP  
  
         it              last            much

'It lasted a long time'

DB007

Note: dhesyi is an intransitive verb.

376. i / va wu / enià  
VP AP

they emp die thus

'They still died in this way'

CH021

Note:   wu   is an intransitive verb.









### Co-occurrence of Adverbial Phrase Types

Usually only one AP occurs in a clause, but a few examples of clauses with two AP's have been recorded. Type 4 has not occurred with any other type. There are no syntactic restrictions on the co-occurrence of other types. The order of the AP's is in the sequence that the types have been numbered, starting with the locative/temporal type 1. The table below gives the co-occurrence of AP's which have been recorded.

<u>AP Type</u>				<u>Example</u>
1	2	3	5	
+		+		382-384
+			+	388
	+	+		385

## CHAPTER TEN

### THE WORD      i.   MAJOR WORDS

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## CHAPTER TEN

### THE WORD      i. MAJOR WORDS

#### 10.0.    Introduction

Words are divided into two main classes: major words which may function as head of a phrase and minor words which never function as head of a phrase. The classes of major words will be described in this chapter and the classes of minor words in chapter 11.

#### 10.1.    The Verb

The verb is divided into two classes, class A and class B, on the basis of its function in different VP classes. Class A comprises all the verbs in the corpus except two. Within class A four types of verbs with different structures are distinguished. As there are no verb tone classes, and as the tone of a verb depends on the polarity, mood and tense of the clause, the tone is not marked on verb roots in isolation.

##### 10.1.1.    The Verb, Class A

##### 10.1.1.1.    Subclasses of Class A Verbs

Class A verbs function as the head of VP class A (section 7.4.1). They are further divided according to their degree of transitivity, i.e. their occurrence with NPo's in simple sentences. This analysis is preferred to dividing clauses into transitive, intransitive, etc., since the object required by a verb need not be present in the clause but implied from a previous clause.

##### Class A1 Intransitive

The VP of which this class functions as head cannot be followed by a NPo.

<u>Examples:</u>	dhemu	'be big'	dhesyi	'last a long time'
	duu	'go out'	fina	'enter' (a canoe)
	funu	'go up'	wii	'dawn' 'get light'

Examples from Texts:

391.     // ì / fina / n' òkò ènì //

NPs       VP           AP

they enter in canoe our

'They got into our canoe'

BC078

392.     // ó / dhesyi //

NPs       VP

it not-last

'It was not long'

BC021

Class A2 Semitransitive

The VP of which this class functions as head may optionally be followed by a NPo. A further subdivision is required since there is a restriction on the type of NPo which may follow certain verbs.

Class A2i

The NPo following the VP may be of any type.

Examples:

bidha	'walk'	bhine	'ask'	dei	'fall'
ko	'call'	nwase	'fear'	te	'reach'

Examples from texts:

393.     /// ò / í kò // ómini mè ...

NPs       VP

'He called, "My child ... "'

EE009

394.     // ávuramu nà / kó / ì //

NPs               VP       NPo

'The woman called him'

EE080

395.     // òko ná / bidha //
- NPs                      VP
- canoe   the   not-walk

'The canoe did not move'

DL068

396.     // àlíbò / bidha / ávuramu    nà //
- NPs                      VP                      NPo
- tortoise   walk   woman   the

'Tortoise married the woman'

CC012

Note: bidha avuramu (lit. walk a woman) is the usual term for 'marry' when the subject is a man. Compare also bidha akie (lit. walk a town) which is the term for 'commit adultery'.

397.     // òkòni / í    deì //
- NPs                      VP
- fight   so   fall

'A fight broke out'

BJ004

398.     // mí / ì    déi / agbùrá //
- NPs                      VP                      NPo
- I   will   fall   fairy

'I will turn into a fairy'

DD019

### Class A2ii

The NPo following the VP must be of type 1 with a noun denoting place as head. The membership of this class is limited to the following:

gbe	'go home'	ta	'go'
yi	'come'		

399. // ówu êvíè / yi //

NPs                   $\overline{VP}$

masquerader another came

'Another masquerader came'

EC023

400. // èbhùrù / í yi / ákie ânàmù //

NPs                  VP                   $\overline{VP}$                   NPo

famine then come town of-animals

'Then famine came to the animals' town'

CA002

401. // ó / ta //

NPs                   $\overline{VP}$

he not-go

'He did not go'

DL034

402. // ò / ta / ákie âyò //

NPs                   $\overline{VP}$                   NPo

he go town another

'He went to another town'

CC003

### Class A3 Transitive

The VP of which this class functions as head must be followed by a NPo. If the NPo is not specified the noun inumu 'thing' is required.

Examples:      ðei      'sell'                  ðhi      'eat'                  ðu      'buy'

                 nu      'beat'                  tou      'take'                  wuru      'do'

### Examples from Texts:

403. // ò / ðu / akani //

NPs                   $\overline{VP}$                   NPo

she buy cloth

'She bought cloth'

CC017



404. // èni / dhi / inùmù //
- NPs VP NPo
- we let-eat thing

'Let's eat!'

FB157

405. // á / dèi dhe / ígiré nà //
- NPs VP NPo
- one sell finish crocodile the

'The crocodile (meat) was sold out'

AT097

406. /// ákiè inii nà // á / nu / inumu ///
- NPs VP NPo
- town four the one not-beat thing

'In the four towns no drum was beaten'

BM077

407. // á / nu / egire nà //
- NPs VP NPo
- one should-beat drum the

'The drum should be beaten'

EH130

408. // àdhè éviè bhòò [na mí / nà wùru / inùmù] //
- NPs VP NPo
- day other long-ago that I inc do thing

'Another day a while ago when I was busy' (lit. doing thing)

AT097

409. // ì / ná wuru / awo / n' âzyi //
- NPs VP NPo AP
- they go-to make trap in bush

'They went and made a trap in the bush'

CJ003

Class A4    Di transitive

The VP of which this class functions as head must be followed by one NPo and may be followed by two NPo's. In the latter case the first NPo is frequently but not invariably an animate noun (example 412).

Examples:

kidhe	'remove'	kpe	'pay'
kye	'give'	pa	'lift up'
sise	'put down'	syie	'send'

Examples from texts:

410. // òkì á / ì kpe / opilopo / ọsa ì //

NPs	VP	NPo	NPo
he also	again not-pay	pig	due his

'Neither would he any longer pay pig what he owed him' CA039

411. // mị / ná kidhe / irityadi / ìpéni //

NPs	VP	NPo	NPo
I	go-to remove	Richard	penny

'I went to get a penny from Richard' AT047

412. // onyênyé / nà ma / ikpébi / ìnùmù [na ó sị dúà dúà] //

NPs	VP	NPo	NPo
everyone	inc arrange	heart	thing that he will buy buy

'Everyone was thinking of the thing that he would buy' CE040

413. // mị / pa / ávuramu nà / útwò //

NPs	VP	NPo	Npo
I	lift	woman the	basket

'I lifted the basket up onto the woman's (head)' E

### 10.1.1.2. Structure of Class A Verbs

Four types of class A verbs are distinguished.

#### Type 1 Simple Root

This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures: CV, CVV, CVCV, CVCVCV.

Examples: ta 'go', dei 'fall', dire 'cook', kofilo 'cough'

#### Type 2 Root with Reduplication

Some verbs of two or more syllables have reduplicated syllables in the root. The non-reduplicated form of the verb does not occur. The reduplication of syllables as part of the verb root differs from the reduplication of the secondary aspect (section 5.7) where the complete verb is reduplicated.

#### Type 2A reduplication of part of a syllable

This type is rare. Only the following have occurred.

gigyo 'lever'	gigya 'rebuke'
gugwo 'heap together'	suswe 'go south'

#### Type 2B reduplication of one syllable

Examples:

CVCV	bhabha 'wander'	lele 'deceive'
	mimi 'squeeze'	pipi 'suck'
CVCVCV	bhunene 'be on good terms'	dhunene 'meet'
	funene 'doubt'	gbunono 'heal'
	kinono 'resemble'	

#### Type 2C reduplication of both syllables

Examples:

bholibholi 'rush to save'	burebure 'pray'
kilekile 'roll'	kpurokpuro 'gather'
syinesyine 'hide'	vinivini 'tangle'

Type 3 Derived Verb

This type consists of a root followed by a derivational suffix which harmonises with the vowel quality of the root (section 2.2.1). There are two classes of derivational suffix.

Class A changes the subclass of the verb and has two members:

-ne 'of its own accord' 'by itself' changes verbs from class A3 (transitive) to class A1 (intransitive).

-se 'causative' changes verbs from class A1 (intransitive) to class A3 (transitive).

Examples:

k <sub>i</sub> e	'split open' (tr.)	k <sub>i</sub> e-ne	'split open by itself' (intr.)
kue	'open' (tr.)	kue-ne	'open by itself' (intr.)
ke	'burn' (intr.)	ke-se	'set light to' (tr.)
y <sub>i</sub> la	'stand' (intr.)	y <sub>i</sub> la-se	'raise to upright position' (tr.)

With a CVV root in which the first V is a non-close vowel and the second V is a close vowel, the second V is dropped before the suffix.

<u>Examples:</u>	bhou	'uproot'	bho-ne	'uproot by itself'
	b <sub>h</sub> ou	'be wet'	b <sub>h</sub> o-se	'make wet'
	de <sub>i</sub>	'sell'	de-se	'sell to a person'

Allomorphs of -ne and -se

-ne and -se have phonologically conditioned allomorphs -ene and -ese respectively which occur in the environments given below. (Compare the allomorphs of the suffix -mu of the verbal adjective, page 230. In both cases roots ending in a close vowel are followed by the VCV allomorph.)

a. Following CV root ending in a close vowel.

<u>Example:</u>	f <sub>u</sub>	'be white'	f <sub>u</sub> -ese	'make white'
	bhi	'be black'	bhi-ese	'make black'

b. Following CVV root where both vowels are close, and CVCV root ending in a close vowel. The final vowel is dropped before the suffix.

<u>Examples:</u>	nuu	'shake'	nu-ene	'shake by itself'
	dhyomu	'be sweet'	dhyom-ese	'make sweet'
	kari	'be strong'	kar-ese	'strengthen'
	mii	'be cool'	mi-ese	'make cool'

Class B maintains the subclass of the verb and has only one member:

-ru 'more than once'

<u>Examples:</u>	do	'pull'	do-ru	'pull to pieces'
	fya	'slice'	fya-ru	'shred'
	sa	'shoot'	sa-ru	'shoot more than once'

With a CVV root ending in a close vowel the final vowel is dropped before the suffix.

<u>Example:</u>	bhou	'uproot'	bho-ru	'uproot many plants'
-----------------	------	----------	--------	----------------------

Note: The above are analysed as suffixes and not as postverbals because their distribution is restricted to certain verbs, and this restriction is not dependent upon lexis. For the same reason, the suffixes are not analysed as marking aspect.

#### Type 4 Compound Verb

This type consists of two roots which have fused. Only two examples have occurred:

tuvai 'get rid of' (vai 'lose' tu ?? )

vinigbe 'return home'. This is a fusion of yi 'come', ni the completive particle, and gbe 'go home'. Proof of the fusion is the occurrence of ni medially, whereas in a compound VP it occurs finally (section 7.4).

### 10.1.1.3. The Verbs 'bhue', 'kye', 'tou' and 'wei'

Four verbs have allomorphs:

bhue 'keep' has two allomorphs: bho occurs preceding kye 'give' (this is the only verb that may follow bho); bhue occurs elsewhere (i.e. preceding NPo or AP or clause finally).

#### Examples:

ò wuru édhyomu bho kye ì  
she make food keep give him

'She prepared some food and kept it for him'

ò gbei anamu bho kye ólo ì  
he kill animal keep give friend his

'He shot an animal and kept it for his friend'

Compare

ò tou édhyomu bhue n' âtilà  
he take food keep on shelf-above-fire

'He kept the food on the shelf above the fire'

kye 'give' has two allomorphs: ku occurs preceding the pronominal postverbals me and wo '1st and 2nd person singular object' respectively; kye occurs elsewhere. The vowel of the allomorphs harmonises with the vowel quality of the preceding verb.

#### Examples:

<u>kù</u> me	'Give me'
ò tou <u>ku</u> wo	'He gave it to you' (lit. he took gave you)
ò wuru <u>ku</u> wo	'He did it for you' (lit. he did gave you)

Compare

<u>kyé</u> ì	'Give it to him'
ò wuru <u>kye</u> édei nà	'He did it for the man'

tou 'take' has two allomorphs: dhòu occurs following another verb in a compound VP except za 'stay'; tou occurs elsewhere. The vowels of tou harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb.

Examples:

pà dhòu 'Pick it up' (lit. lift take)

ò kunu dhòu 'he caught hold of it'  
(lit. he held took)

Compare

ò tou dhi 'He took it and ate it'

ò tou dire 'He took it and cooked it'

ò za tou ûdhí nà 'He kept taking the wine'

wei 'say' has two allomorphs: wo occurs preceding kye 'give' wei occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

ò wo kyé ì 'He said to him' (lit. he said gave him)

èni wo kye édei nà 'We said to the man'

Compare

ò wei êníà 'He spoke thus'

#### 10.1.1.4 Class A Verbs ending in a Close Vowel

Verb roots ending in a close vowel add the suffix -a in the following clauses:

positive: descriptive, subjunctive, referential, future;

negative: imperative, subjunctive, indicative if the VP is emphatic (section 5.4.3);

in the following positions:

clause finally (examples 414, 415)

preceding a single vocalic morpheme (example 416)

preceding a consonant (example 417) except the preposition

n' (example 418), or when the verb is reduplicated (example 190, page 102).





10.1.2. The Verb, Class B

Class B verbs function as the head of VP class B (section 7.4.2). The class has only two members: ya 'is' 'exists' and mo 'is not' 'does not exist'. They are analysed as verbs because they occur as the head of a VP, and have the same juncture features with the NPs as class A verbs (section 5.8.2). They are distinguished from class A verbs because of their limited distribution: they occur only in declarative clauses and clauses with an interrogative NPo or AP; and because they occur only in certain positions in a compound VP (section 7.4.2).

ya functions only in positive clauses. It always has H tone. It may occur with one NPo (example 421) but this is rare.

Examples:

419. // alágbà / ya / n'âminì òkò //
- NPs      VP      AP
- gun      is      in water of-canoe

'The gun is in the water in the canoe'

AT063

420. // é̀nù̀mà [ná ò̀kì tóu bídha avuramu nà] / ya //
- NPs      VP
- money      that he will-take marry woman      the      is

'He has the money to marry the woman'

CC005

421. // ò / yá / ì / n' otồrù //
- NPs      VP      NPo      AP
- it      is      her      in throat

'It's in her throat'

EJ083

Note: The tone of ya is upstepped preceding the following L tone. This is automatic upstep (section 2.3.1).

mo functions only in negative clauses. It always has a H tone. It may be followed by one NPo (example 423) but this is rare.

Examples:

422. // èvié / mo //  
           NPs      VP  
           other is-not

'There is no other'

ATI42

423. // ó / mo / awò //  
           NPs      VP      NPo  
           he is-not state-of-being-alive

'He is not alive'

FC028

424. // onu êguá / mo / n' omù //  
           NPs      VP      AP  
           mother their is-not in house

'Their mother is not at home'

EC033

## 10.2. The Noun

Nouns are divided into two classes on the basis of their function in phrases and into six types according to differences in their structure.

### 10.2.1. Classes of Noun

#### Class A General Nouns

This class functions as the head of the simple NP type 1 (section 8.2.1).

Examples:

édèi	'person'	édà	'river'	èsèni	'fish'
ódò	'mortar'	ùtòmù	'head'	ùkwô	'farm'

A small group of nouns of this class denoting relationship are obligatorily possessed and occur with either a pronoun functioning as possessive, or with a genitive construct.

Examples:    asúnù    'father' (asu before me 'my' and wo 'your')  
                  átyè    'relation'  
                  óminì    'own child'  
                  imémìnì    'own children'  
                  ónù    'mother'

Note: Following asunu 'father', atye 'relation' and onu 'mother' if the possessor is not specified, the noun amo 'child' occurs (examples 426, 428).

Examples from texts:

425.    mì    nàà    atyé    me    ávù    dhunene  
                                  Nn    Poss

I    and relation my    one    meet

'I met one of my relations'

AT043

426.    mí    bhuene    bhue    atye    amo    avu    enà    a  
    Nn    GenCon

I    not-have keep relation of-child one at-all even

'I do not have any relations at all'

DC009

427.    onu    éì    nàà    asúnu    eì    a    ègwè    ígô  
                  Nn   Poss                   Nn   Poss

mother his    and    father    his    also people of-poverty

'His father and mother were poor people'

DA003

428.    asúnu    amo    nà    nàà    alagbá    nà    yia  
                  Nn    GenCon

father-of child the    and    gun    inc    come

'The father was coming with a gun'

FBI25

429. asúnu ôdyidyí nàà ónu el dhyani n' âzyi  
 Nn GenCon Nn Poss  
 father of-snake and mother his enter in bush

'The snake's mother and father went to the bush'

CE016

The nouns ana 'the one' and idhiana 'how' 'like' are forms which have resulted from the fusion of a root with the construct marker na. The nouns never occur as the sole element of a NP. They are followed either by a relative construct (section 8.2.6) or by a genitive construct (section 8.2.1.3). ana may also be followed by a possessive. ana has two allomorphs: anu occurs before a consonant; ana occurs before a vowel.

Examples:

430. ó dhuu âná [òkí kilo ni egwe anàmù] á nà  
 RelCon rf rf  
 it follow the-one he rule cpl pl animal too the

'Because he rules over the animals ...'

DL008

431. ó kue dhe âna [ávuramu] nà  
 GenCon rf  
 he open finish the-one of-woman the

'(When) he opened up the woman's ...'

DH048

432. ò nó vyamu gbei amo àna [ókaa] nà  
 GenCon rf  
 he go-to flog kill child the-one of-age the

'He went and flogged the eldest child to death'

DJ040

433. àná i òkí sì zá fou akibhì  
 Poss  
 the-one his he will stay smoke pipe

'As for him, he will go on smoking his pipe'

CF009



438. // èníà [na í ta na te] nà // ká ì í kpú dhòu ...  
           Nn:B           RelCon           rf

NP

thus that they go to reach the seq they so pull take

'As they arrived thus, they pulled ...

Note: The NP is functioning as a nominal clause (section 6.1.1).

439. // ì / gba / ógèlé / èníà //  
           NPs   VP       NPo       AP

they make procession thus

'They held a procession thus'

BJ039

440. // obó nà / somu fyé nì //  
           Nn:B rf  
           NPs                   VP

big the is-good exceed cpl

'The big one is the best'

E

441. // ò / dhesyi / ôbô //  
           NPs       VP       AP  
           it       last       a-lot

'It lasted a long time'

DB007

Note: obo is analysed as an AP since the verb is intransitive.

### 10.2.2. Types of Noun

The CV structure of the six different types of nouns will be described first followed by details of their tone patterns.

#### Type 1 Simple Root

This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures:

VCV, VCVV, VCVCV, VCVCVCV

#### Examples:

òkò	'canoe'	àkái	'thatch'	énùrà	'money'
		ápìdhémù	'seat'		

Nouns of more than four syllables involve reduplication of one or more syllables or are compounds.

#### Type 2 Root with Reduplication

Some three and four syllable nouns and nouns of more than four syllables other than compounds have reduplicated syllables in the root. The non-reduplicated form of the noun does not occur.

##### Type 2A reduplication of part of a syllable

ápìpyà	'hornbill'	èdídhýè	'four days' (former week)
--------	------------	---------	------------------------------

##### Type 2B reduplication of one syllable

VCVCV	òdyídyí	'snake'	òdhùdhu	'unripe palm fruit'
	òvùvù	'light'	úsùsù	'south'
VCVCVCV	àdùbhabha	'alligator'	íkùlélé	'iron'
	òkílòlò	'cutlass'	òkùlulu	'spring of water'
	ègàdíga	'fish trap'	ègbùlùgbù	'sandfly'
	égùlégu	'rainbow'	èkpòrikpo	'shrub'

Type 2C reduplication of one syllable with a change from a front to a back or central vowel.

ègbèrìgbà	'story'	ègbìnàgbà	'bell'
ofílofò	'skull'	opilopo	'pig'

Type 2D reduplication of two syllables

èmùrààmùrà	'act'	òfìrìfìrì	'darkness'
òkànikàni	'broom'	ovóììvóìì	'fresh air'

### Type 3 Prefixed Root

In this type there is a change in the initial vowel between the singular and the plural. The noun is therefore analysed as consisting of a prefix followed by a root. The singular prefix is a- / o- and the plural prefix is i-. Nouns of this type are few. Only the following have occurred in this corpus.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
amémùrè	imémùrè	young girl
ámò	ímò	child
amódhyòmù	imódhyòmù	young man
ávùrààmù	ívùrààmù	woman
ókàà	íkàà	old man
ozyi	izyi	thief

Note: A vowel prefix always harmonises with the vowel quality of the following root.

### Type 4 Derived Noun

Some nouns are derived from verb or adjective roots.



Type 4A

This type consists of a vowel prefix o- singular or i- plural and a verbal adjective type 2 (section 11.4.2). This is a regular formation: nouns may be derived from all verbal adjectives. Due to semantic restrictions, some nouns do not have a plural form.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Verbal Adjective</u>		<u>Noun</u>
	bhuenémù 'having'	òbhuenémù	'owner'
		ìbhuenémù	'owners'
	dhiámù 'eating'	òdhiámù	'eating'
	gwémù 'obeying'	ògwémù	'obedience'
	kilómù 'ruling'	òkilómù	'chief'
		ìkilómù	'chiefs'

Type 4B

This consists of a vowel prefix o- / i- and an adjective type 1 (section 11.4.2). The o- prefix is more common.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Adjective Type 1</u>		<u>Noun</u>
bô	'big'	obô	'bigness'
dhíà	'evil'	òdhíà	'evil'
dhô	'old'	òdhô	'old condition'
fàì	'new'	òfàì	'newness'
fùrómu	'worthless' 'empty'	òfùrómu	'worthlessness' 'in vain'
gbê	'a few'	ògbê	'a few'
gbèrì	'small'	ògbèrì	'small size'
gbúgbò	'thick'	igbúgbò	'thickness'
kiríkiri	'all'	ìkiríkiri	'all'
viè	'good'	òviè	'goodness'

Type 4C

This type consists of a vowel prefix and a verb root. There is no regular correspondence between the prefix and the root.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Verb Root</u>		<u>Noun</u>
swei	'live'	àswèi	'life'
gbou	'advise'	ègbòù	'advice'
kpomu	'be ill'	ìkpòmù	'illness'
koni	'fight'	òkòni	'fight'
kari	'be strong'	úkàrì	'power'

Type 5 Compound Noun

This type consists of two roots which have fused. The form is analysed as a compound and not as a succession of two nouns because, as will be shown, it does not follow the regular rules of elision or tone at word juncture.

Type 5A

Both roots are still identifiable. In the fusion the initial vowel of the second word is elided. Normally the final vowel of the first word is elided at word juncture (section 2.4).

<u>Examples:</u>	ìdhíi-fàì	'intestines'
	(ìdhìi 'vine' èfàì 'stomach')	
	àmíní-bhwòni	'soup'
	(àmìni 'water' ùbhwòni 'salt')	

Type 5B Only one of the roots is still identifiable.

<u>Examples:</u>	àkúm-edèi	'human being'	(édèi 'person')
	òny-ókò	'messenger'	(ókò 'messenger')
	òny-ávùrà mù	'woman'	(ávùrà mù 'woman')
	òny-ímòsyì	'man'	(mòsyì 'male')
	ów-àwíè	'next morning'	(àwíè 'morning')

Type 5C

Some nouns are formed from the root ámò 'child' or ímò 'children' being prefixed to another root. Such nouns are analysed as compounds since the tone pattern differs from that of two separate nouns in a NP as follows:

noun + noun    ómù + àfèní > [ómwâfèní]    'hen house'  
house of-hen

ámò + noun    ámò + àfèní > [amáfèní]    'bird'

Nouns with the prefix amo are diminutives. Nouns with the prefix imo are mainly plurals. The prefix im- also means 'belonging to the same group or species as ...' e.g.

okóri 'name of a man'            im-Ókóri 'Okori's people'

Examples:

am-áki	'small pot'	am-ókùbô	'small box'
im-áni	'wives'	im-ébhùrà	'contemporaries'
im-ákiresàdhù	'buffaloes'	im-ólò	'friends'

Note: In amómu-vùràmu 'girl' the first root is probably an older form of ámò.

Type 5D

Neither of the roots is identifiable. The occurrence of a medial tone glide points to the fusion of two former roots as tone glides do not occur medially in monomorphemic nouns.

Examples:

élěli	'sign'	òfôrò	'frog'
otôrù	'throat'	ùkwôdyi	'coconut'

## Type 6 Clause-based Compounds

A few names of birds and animals and insects are derived from a verbal declarative clause. The clause without any marker functions as a single noun.

Examples :

òkari    okó    yàì    ôkpì                    'woodpecker'  
carver of-canoe pulls unfinished-canoe

àniǵó    duu    afini                 'sandfly'  
poor-man not-go outside                 (lit. a poor man does not go  
outside)

Example from text:

442. // òkari òkó yàì òkpì / í na ke sise / àkàù //

NPs VP NPo

woodpecker so go-to chop fell cotton-tree

'So the woodpecker went and felled a cotton-tree' DL003

### 10.2.3. Tone of Nouns

There are nine main tone classes with tone patterns which are manifested with nouns of four, three and two syllables. L tone is the less stable of the two tones and so is the first to drop out when a tone pattern is compressed. The tone classes are given on the following page. The gaps in the pattern in classes E and G occur because the tone pattern for VCV(V) would be the same as for classes D and F respectively. The gaps in the pattern in classes H and I occur because no nouns of the pattern LHH (class H) and HLLH (class I) have occurred. Classes A and B have the largest membership; classes H and I have the smallest membership.

For tones of nouns when functioning as the head of the NPs or NPo see section 5.8.2.

Noun Tone Classes

Class	VCVCVCV	VCVCV	VCV(V)
A	HLLL	HLL	HL
	avuramu 'woman'	esaru 'mosquito'	omu 'house'
B	LLLL	LLL	LL
	ebhufumu 'ash'	obila 'pitcher'	eki 'market'
C	HHHH	HHH	HH
	opilopo 'pig'	olilo 'bottle'	igbo 'fish-net'
D	HHLL	HHL	HHL
	akpukuro 'cassava'	avuvo 'bat'	ilo 'lie'
E	HLHL	HLHL	
	apidhemu 'seat'	okubo 'box'	
F	LLHL	LLHL	LHL
	egadiga 'fish-trap'	ekasyi 'chair'	ume 'faith'
G	LHLL	LHL	
	orisyoni 'snake'	abina 'plantain'	
H	LHLH		LH
	ikpilama 'snail'		oki 'type of fish'
I		HLH	HLH
		ogele 'procession'	ekpau 'fish-hook'

### Noun Tone Class B

When a noun of this tone class functions as the head of the NPo, its tone is determined by the type of clause in which it occurs and the polarity, mood and tense of the clause as follows:

<u>Clause</u>	<u>Tone</u>	<u>Example</u>			
Neg. indic. }	HHHH	ó	gèni	akpurata	'he does not look at the mat'
Aorist }		ò	gèni	akpurata	'he looked at the mat'
Pos. imp.	LLH		gèní	àkpùràta	'look at the mat'
All other verbal clauses	HLLLL	ó	gèni	àkpùràtà	'he looks at the mat'
Non-verbal clauses	LLLL	ànô	ká	àkpùràtà	'this (is) a mat'

When a noun of this tone class functions as head of the NPo in an aorist or negative clause string, the string has the following special tonal characteristics:

- the final tone of the NPo is not upstepped;
- non-initial verbs have H tone on each syllable.

#### Examples:

##### Aorist string

//	ò	/	do	/	akpurata		dhemesè	//
	NPs		VP		NPo		VP	
	he		weave		mat		make-bigger	

'He wove the mat bigger'

Compare:

igbo (HH)	//	ò	/	do	/	igbó		dhemesè	//
-----------	----	---	---	----	---	------	--	---------	----

'He wove the net bigger'

### 10.3. The Pronoun

#### 10.3.1. Function of the Pronoun

The primary function of the pronoun is as head of the simple NP type 2 (section 8.2.2) when this is either subject or object of the clause. Certain pronouns also function as attributive elements of the simple NP type 1 as possessive or demonstrative (see below and section 8.2.1.1).

The pronoun is analysed as constituting the head of a separate phrase rather than as an element of the VP since it is parallel to the noun in the following respects:

a. There are the same types of juncture between the NPs and the VP, and between the VP and the NPo as when the noun is head of the NP (section 5.8.2).

b. The pronoun may be followed by some of the same attributive elements as the noun, i.e. by a modifying construct or a reinforcer (section 8.2.2). It may not, however, be followed by all the attributive elements which may follow the noun, and thus is distinguished from the noun.

#### Pronoun Paradigms

Full paradigms of the pronouns according to their main functions are given below. The categories of person and number will be discussed in sections 10.3.2 and 10.3.3. Disjunctive pronouns occur in isolation and in the NP preceding a reinforcer or a relative construct.

<u>As Head of the NPs</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
singular	mì	bhù	ò
plural	ènì	bhà	ì / ègùà
<u>As Head of the NPo</u>			
singular	-	-	éì
plural	ènì	bhà	bhà / ègùà

As Head of the NP <u>Disjunctive</u>	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
singular	mè, òmè	bhò, èbhò	òkì
plural	ènì	bhà	èguà
As Attributive of the NP <u>Possessive</u>			
singular	mè	wò	éì
plural	ènì	bhà	èguà

Notes:

a. The 3rd person singular pronoun ei has two allomorphs: i occurs following a word ending in a non-close vowel; ei occurs following a word ending in a close vowel.

<u>Examples:</u>	mi kó <u>i</u>	'I call him'
	mi dhuu <u>éi</u>	'I follow him'
	ólo <u>i</u>	'his friend'
	utomu <u>éi</u>	'his head'

b. The 3rd person singular pronoun oki also functions as a demonstrative.

Examples:

443.	édei ôkí nà man <u>this</u> the	'this man'	CG016
444.	òtà ôkì time <u>this</u>	'(at) this time'	CF021

c. For examples of the different functions of the pronouns see the following sections:

As head of the NPs and NPo: section 8.2.2.

As possessive : section 8.2.1.1.



d. There is also an impersonal pronoun a which occurs only as the head of the NPs. It may be translated by 'one', 'they', 'people' or by a passive construction.

Examples:

445.            a kó ì óbì  
                 one call him name

'He is called Obi'

DJ001

446.            à í mè  
                 one so agree

'So it was agreed'

DD020

447.            à dhyani isosyí nà  
                 one enter church the

'People joined the church'

BC018

10.3.2.    Category of Person

Within the pronoun class there is a three term system of person. The person used distinguishes the different types of quotations in speech material (section 3.3) and is relevant to the system of concord between the pronoun and its referent (section 10.3.3).

There is no 1st or 2nd person singular object pronoun. A pronominal postverbal occurs instead (section 11.3).

The 3rd person object pronouns have zero allomorphs when the referent is an inanimate noun.

Examples:

i. àswá mè vai ya. bhù moní à. (zero pronoun)  
    hoe my lose is you see qu

'My hoe is missing. Have you seen it?'

ii. ómìnì mè vai ya. bhù moni éì à.

'My child is missing. Have you seen him?'

- iii.    ò    gbei    eseni    é.sàà    ká    ò    í    tɔ̀    ta    ɔ̀mù    (zero pronoun)  
          he kill fish three seq he so take go house

'He caught three fish and took them home'

- iv.    ò   m̀oni   imémini   ei   n' ɔga   edà   ká   ò   í   tɔu   êgúá   ta   ɔm̀u  
 he see children his at edge of-river seq he so take them go house

'He saw his children near the river and took them home.

In the 3rd person pronouns there is a further two term system which is termed reflexive/non-reflexive. The reflexive pronoun occurs if the referent is the subject of the previous clause and the non-reflexive if the referent is not the subject. When the pronoun is the subject the singular forms are: reflexive oki ; non-reflexive o ; and the plural forms are: reflexive bha ; and non-reflexive i or egua . When the pronoun is the object the distinction is neutralised in the singular, both forms being ei ; in the plural the distinction is maintained: reflexive bha ; non-reflexive egua . This sub-system has a limited distribution, occurring only after the particle ga in sentence types 3 (Report) and 7 (Purpose).

Examples :

- i. ámo nà wei grá òkì gbei èsèní nà.  
reflex

child the say sp he kill fish the

'The child said that he (the child) caught the fish'

- ii. ámo nà wei gá ò gbei êsèní nà  
non-reflex

'The child said that he (another person) caught the fish'

- iii. áno nà wei ga adé sì tóu ei tà  
child the say sp name will take him go

'The child said that Ade would take him there'

Note: The pronoun ei could refer either to the child or to another person already mentioned. The semantic meaning is determined by the context.

- iv. ímo nà wei gá bhà gbei êsèní nà  
reflex

'The children said that they (the children) caught the fish'

- v. ímo nà wei gá èguà gbei êsèní nà  
non-reflex

'The children said that they (other people) caught the fish'

- vi. ímo nà wei ga adé sì tóu bha tà  
reflex

'The children said that Ade would take them (the children) there'

- vii. ímo nà wei ga adé sì tóu èguà tà  
non-reflex

'The children said that Ade would take them (other people) there'

### 10.3.3. Category of Number

Within the pronoun class there is a two term system of number: singular and plural. The singular non-disjunctive pronouns (all monosyllabic) harmonise with the vowel quality of the head of the VP or NP as follows:

Pronoun functioning as head of the NPs with the following verb  
(section 5.8.1);

Pronoun functioning as head of the NPo with the preceding verb  
(section 5.8.1);

Pronoun functioning as possessive with the preceding noun  
(section 8.2.1.1).

There is concord with respect to number and person between a pronoun and its referent either within a sentence or across sentence boundaries as follows:

a. If the referent is a noun which is marked for number morphologically or is preceded by egwe 'plurality', the pronoun is 3rd person and singular or plural according to the number of the noun.

Example: Singular referent: omini 'child'. Singular pronoun: o .

448. /// omíni âlíbò me /// ká ò tou étai na wai tu-vai ///  
child of-tortoise agree seq he take fire the throw lose

'Tortoise's child agreed. So he took the coals and threw them away.'  
DJ027

Plural referent: imemini 'children'. Plural pronoun: i .

449. /// àlibó nà dhi ôbhúen-eti nà // imémini âlíbò ya ///  
tortoise inc eat lion the children of-tortoise are

/// i gení ni âlíbò // àlíbò toru dhou bhá àdhù ///  
they look cpl tortoise tortoise blink take them eye

'As tortoise was eating the lion, his children were there.  
Whenever they looked at tortoise, he snubbed them.'  
CZ077

b. If the referent is a noun which is not marked for number, i.e. is common, the pronoun is 3rd person and singular or plural according to the semantic meaning.

Example: Common referent: ikpilama 'snail'. Singular pronoun: o .

450. /// ikpílâmâ yila za /// ò tyí nì ///  
snail stand stay he shout cpl

'Snail stopped. He shouted.'  
EK036

Common referent: ikpilama 'snail'. Plural pronoun: i .

451. /// á wèla gá ikpílâmá syimu nù o /// i nyoni bhué nì ///  
one say sp snail push cpl indeed they put keep cpl

'They said that it was the snails who had pushed it. They kept at it.'  
DL130

c. If the referent is a pronoun and a noun, the following pronoun is plural and of the same person as the preceding pronoun.

Examples:

452. /// mī nàà ògidhí èní yàia // ...  
           1st sg.                      1st pl.

I and name we paddle

'(When) Ogidi and I paddled (the canoe) ...'

AT114

453. /// bhù nàà àní wò bhà yi ómu mè ///  
           2nd sg.                      2nd pl.

you and wife your you come house my

'You and your wife came to my house'

E

454. /// òkì nàà ávuramu nà kwa // í nà bídhà ta ///  
           3rd sg.                                      3rd pl.

he and woman the start they inc walk go

'He and the woman set off'

DA032

d. If the referent is two pronouns, the following pronoun is plural and the person is as follows:

<u>Referent</u>	<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Example</u>
Including 1st person	1st	455
Including 2nd but not 1st	2nd	456
3rd person only	3rd	457

Examples:

455. /// mī nàà íbhà èní sì dú ênú //  
           1st sg.    2nd sg. 1st pl.

I and you we will buy price

'You and I will bargain over the price'

E

456. // bhù nàà éì bha ta //  
           2nd sg.      3rd sg. 2nd pl.  
           you and him you go

'You and he go'

E

457. //// òkì nàà éì kwa // í nà ta ////  
           3rd sg.      3rd sg.      3rd pl.  
           he and him start they inc go

'He set off with him'

DE043

Note: The occurrence of a pronoun immediately following a 'double' subject is not obligatory (examples 454, 457).

#### 10.4. The Numeral

The numeral functions as head of the simple NP type 3 (section 8.2.3) and as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 following the head (section 8.2.1.1). The numeral is distinguished from the noun since it may occur following the adjective in the NP, whereas apart from the special case described on page 152, the noun does not. Also when the numeral is functioning as head of the NP it may be followed by only a limited range of attributive elements (section 8.2.3).

The class comprises the following:

<u>ávù</u>	'one'	<u>ívà</u>	'two'
<u>ésàà</u>	'three'	<u>ínìl</u>	'four'
<u>ísyòní</u>	'five'	<u>ènyísà</u>	'six'
<u>ísyóvà</u>	'seven'	<u>ènumàni</u>	'eight'
<u>àvúmò</u>	'nine'	<u>ígbèl</u>	'ten'
<u>ìvù</u>	'a number of'		
	'some'		

#### Examples:

èsèní ívà 'two fish'  
           2

ímo ísyóvà 'seven children'  
           7

Following ùtòmù 'person' and àdhè 'day' numerals with initial i- have an allomorph with initial e- .

Examples:

ùtòmù	évà	'two people'	ùtòmù	ésyòní	'five people'
àdhè	évù	'some days'	àdhè	égbèl	'ten days'

Numbers above ten involve nouns as well as numerals. They are described here for the sake of convenience.

Numbers above ten

These are derived from units of 20, 200 or 400 together with numerals by either addition, or multiplication, or a combination of both, or subtraction. The units of 20, 200 and 400 are nouns and precede the noun in question. (The two nouns together function as a complex head of the NP - section 8.2.1.3.)

Examples:

<u>íyei</u>	èsèní	'20 fish'	<u>úgbèi</u>	imò	'200 children'
20			200		

The full list of units used as the base for higher numbers is given below, followed by a description of how the intermediate numbers are formed.

íyèl	'20'	óvùà	'40'
ósàà	'60'	únìl	'80'
úsyonì	'100'	ósumasè	'120'
ùsyóvà	'140'	ònùmàni	'160'
úgbèl	'200'	àsyì	'400'

Where a number involves addition an additive construct (section 8.2.1.2) is used.

Example:      íyèl [ nàà    ósàà ]      '23'

                 Nn            AddCon

                 20        and    3

Where a number involves subtraction it has the structure of a clause: NPs VP AP, but it functions as a noun, i.e. as subject or object of a clause, and thus is analysed as a compound noun type 6 (clause-based compound - page 199).

Example: / ɛ̀nùmàní / mo / n' ugbèì / '192'  
                     NPs                      VP                      AP  
                     8                      is-not in 200

Numbers 11-19. These are formed by addition using igbèl '10' as the base and adding numerals 1-9.

Examples:      ígbèl    nàa    ìva                                 '12'  
                        10        and       2

ígbèl nàà ìsyíleni iníl '14 shillings'  
10 and shilling 4

Numbers 20-179. These are formed by addition using units of twenty and adding numbers 1-19.

Examples:      ùsyóvǎ    nàǎ    ìva                                 '142'  
                        140        and        2

60      and      10      and      yam      8  
 60      and      10      and      yam      8

Numbers 180-199. These are formed by subtraction from úgbèi '200'.

Example:        iyeí mo n'ugbèi                                      '180'  
                        20 is-not in 200

Numbers 200-799. These are formed by addition using úgbèl '200' or àsýì '400' as the base.

Example: àsyì nàà úsyòní nàà iva '502'  
400 and 100 and 2



Numbers from 800 onwards. These numbers are formed by multiplication in units of 400 and then addition.

Example: àsyì ívà nàà úgbei edèi '1,000 people'  
400 x 2 and 200 person

### Ordinal numbers

Except for 'first', ordinal numbers require the noun òdùnémù (or òdùnèsémù) 'order' 'occasion' as either the first or second element of a complex head together with the appropriate numeral.

Examples: áki òdùnèsému inlì 'fourth pot'  
pot order 4

òdùnému ùtòmù évà 'second person'  
order head 2

The first ordinal requires the nouns òsyíà 'appearing' and àdhù 'front' which together constitute the second element of a complex head.

Examples: ámo òsyíà àdhù 'first child'  
child of-appearing of-front

òkò òsyíà àdhù 'first canoe'

### Distributive Numbers

These employ an AP type 5 (section 9.5).

#### 10.5. The Demonstrative

The demonstrative functions as the head of the simple NP type 3 (section 8.3) and as an attributive element of the simple NP type 1 following the head (section 8.2.1.1). It is distinguished from the noun since it may follow the numeral in the NP, whereas the noun does not. Also when the demonstrative is functioning as the head of the NP it may be followed by only a limited range of attributive elements (section 8.2.3).

The class comprises the members listed below. Some of the demonstratives have plural forms. For vowel harmony and concord between the demonstrative and the noun see section 8.2.1.1, pages 143, 146.

(sg.) ànô	(pl.) inâ	'this'
(sg.) àkâ	(pl.) ikâ	'that'
(sg.) àyô	(pl.) iyô (iyâ)	'other near at hand'
èvíè		'other out of sight'
ènô, ènâ		'this kind' (attributive only)
ávù		'certain' (attributive only)

Note: The demonstrative ávù is distinguished from the numeral ávù 'one' since it may occur following a numeral (example 459).

#### Tone Patterns of Demonstratives

Some demonstratives have different tone patterns depending on their function. When functioning as head, they have the tone pattern given above. When functioning as an attributive, the following have the tone pattern LL:

ano 'this'	ina 'these';	aka 'that'	ika 'those'
ayo (sg.)	iyô (pl.)	'other'	

Because there is a high juncture between the demonstrative and the previous word (page 143), the initial tone of the demonstrative is a HL glide.

#### Examples:

458. ànàmù àyò yi í te nì  
       Nn     Dem  
       animal another came to reach cpl

'Another animal arrived'

EE089

459.     ì     moni     ímo     ákie     êní     iva     avù  
                               Nn           GenCon     Num     Dem  
           they see    boys of-town   our    two certain

'They saw a certain couple of boys from our town'

AC012

460.     ò     nó     le     ko     êvíè  
                               Dem  
           he go-to again call another

'He went to call another (doctor)'

CG075

461.     ákie     êní     êná     nà  
                   Nn     Poss     Dem     Rf  
           town    our    this    the

'This town of ours'

DA062

462.     ínùmù   ávu   ênô   a [na   mì   tòu   kyè   bhá]   i   mo  
                   Nn     Num   Dem   Rf           RelCon  
           thing   one   this   even   which I will-take give you again is-not

'There is nothing at all that I can give you'

DL102

See also examples 290, 293, 328.

#### 10.6.    The Interrogative

The interrogative functions as head of the simple NP type 4 (section 8.2.4). It is distinguished from the noun since it does not occur with any attributive elements, and also since it occurs only in interrogative clauses. The class comprises the following members:

èdho	'where?' (not NPs)	ínwèl	'how many?'	ivo	'how?' (NPs only)
iyó	'what?'	òvo	'which?'	òyo	'who?'

Examples:

463.      bhú    sì    dhúmo    ôyo  
            you will    marry    whom

'Whom will you marry?'

CG012

464.      bhu    tá    êdhó    à  
            you will-go    where    qu

'Where will you go?'

FA082

465.      iyó    nyine    nì    n'    akiè    à  
            what happen    cpl    in    town    qu

'What has happened in the town?'

ED043

466.      èni    wúru    ìvó    à  
            we will-do    what    qu

'What shall we do?'

DK047

For further examples see 166-170, 172-175, 330-333.

## 10.7.      The Adverb

### 10.7.1      Function and Structure of the Adverb

The adverb functions as the sole element of AP type 3 (section 9.2.3). The class is very numerous. Adverbs<sup>1</sup> are descriptive of "sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity"<sup>2</sup>.

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1. Similar items are frequently termed 'ideophones' by other linguists.

2. Cole, D.T., An Introduction to Tswana Grammar, (Capetown 1955), p. 370.

The adverb has a demarcative feature marking intensity. The intense form is marked by reduplication once or frequently twice, or by a lengthening of the final vowel beyond the length of a normal double vowel. The non-intense form is characterised by an absence of lengthening or reduplication.

The lengthening or reduplication is analysed as a demarcative feature of the word since it distinguishes adverbs from other words. (A verb may be reduplicated once when the clause is in the secondary aspect - section 5.7 - but not twice.) The feature is not analysed as part of the system of emphasis since the latter is restricted to declarative clauses (section 5.4.3) whereas the intense form of the adverb occurs in all types of clauses. The feature is analysed as demarcative of the adverb word and not of the AP since in one type (2B) only part and not the whole of the word is repeated. For this reason also, the feature is not analysed as part of the secondary aspect (section 5.7) where a complete phrase is repeated.

#### Type 1 Simple Root

This type consists of a simple root without any reduplicated syllables of the following CV structures: CVV, CVCV, CVCVCV.

CVV	doo	'quietly'
	gàà	'very bright' (of sun)
	yìlì	'sound of something heavy falling'
CVCV	kpèrù	'bulging'
	kpùku	'of short stature'
	wàsà	'splash!' (sound of something falling in water)
CVCVCV	bilomu	'pointed in shape'
	gbùrodo	'clearly visible'
	wùrùmù	'sound of something heavy falling'

## Type 2 Root with reduplicated syllable(s)

This type has reduplicated syllables in the root. The non-reduplicated form does not occur.

### Type 2A reduplication of one syllable

CVCV	tètè	'in a tottering manner'
	vùvù	'in a hurried manner'
CVCVCV	bhùnunu	'in a ruffled state'
	kìlòlò	'dripping wet'

Type 2B reduplication of two syllables. In the intense form the two syllables are further repeated, e.g.

Non-intense form: kpékèkpékè 'in an unsteady manner'

Intense form: kpékèkpékèkpékè

kpánèkpàne	'in a furtive manner'
likiliki	'of tall and slim stature'
kwemúkwèmù	'in a lively manner'
mènìmènì	'being very sweet in taste'
wòlòwolo	'hurriedly'
zyèrìzyèrì	'torn to shreds'

For examples of adverbs see section 9.2.3.

## 10.7.2. Tone of Adverbs

There are three main tone classes with patterns which are manifested with adverbs of four, three or two syllables. In the chart on the following page all the examples used have occurred on the previous two pages. The gloss is not repeated for reasons of space.

### Adverb Tone Classes

Class	CVCVCVCV	CVCVCV	CV(C)V
A	LLLL zyerizyeri	LLL wurumu	LL yii
B	HHHH likiliki	HHH bilomu	HH doo
C	LLHH wolowolo	LHH bhununu	LH kpuku

#### 10.7.3. The Adverb 'tuu'

The adverb tuu 'until' 'for a long time' has a more restricted distribution than other adverbs. It does not occur sentence finally, and within the clause it is always the final phrase. It is analysed as an adverb rather than as a clause introducer in a complex sentence for the following reasons:

- a. It may be followed by the sequential particle ka whereas the other clause introducers may not;
- b. It is frequently followed by a pause: clause introducers are followed by a pause only when the speaker hesitates;
- c. It may be lengthened or reduplicated for intensity: clause introducers do not have any intense form.

Examples:

467. /// i ta tuu // ká i ná te eða bô ///  
           they go till seq they go-to reach river big

'They went on for a long time until they reached a big river'

DB022

468. /// i wuru tuu // i wuru dhe ///  
           they do till they do finish

'They worked until they finished it'

BMO72

469. /// à tɔu ɔbho kɛ dɔu nyoni n'ínùmù tuu //  
           one take hand skim take put in thing till

ka ò vure dhe ///  
           seq it end finish

'It was skimmed off by hand and put into a tin until it was  
 all gone'

AS014

470. /// àlɛ́bo kɔnikoni kpúrùkpúrùkpúrù tuu // ànɪ àlɛ́bò ...  
           tortoise fight fight struggling till wife of-tortoise

'Tortoise struggled and struggled until his wife ...'

DF027

### 10.8. The Preposition

The preposition functions as an obligatory element of AP type 1  
 or 4. This class has only three members:

n' 'at' 'in'; tuu 'as far as' 'until' which function  
 in AP type 1 (section 9.2.1, examples 368-373).

naa 'and' 'with' which functions in AP type 4 (section 9.2.4  
 examples 386, 387).



## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### THE WORD     ii. MINOR WORDS

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## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### THE WORD      ii. MINOR WORDS

#### 11.0.    Introduction

Minor words never function as the head of a phrase. They comprise words which function as attributive elements of the NP or of the VP, particles which function as syntagmatic features of a unit, and exclamations which function as the sole element of the marginal clause type 2.

#### 11.1.    The Auxiliary Verb 'ná'

The auxiliary verb functions as an attributive element of the VP, both of the simple VP and of the compound VP where it may precede any of the verbs. It is analysed as an auxiliary and not as a full verb because it never occurs as the head of a VP. It is distinguished from the preverbals on the basis of function, since the latter do not occur medially in a compound VP (section 7.4), or in a non-initial VP in a clause string (section 5.9).

The auxiliary verb has three allomorphs: í occurs following the verb yi 'come'; nó occurs following the 3rd person singular pronoun functioning as head of the NPs; ná occurs elsewhere. The vowel of nó and í harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb (examples 475, 476).

The auxiliary verb denotes movement with a certain purpose. Together with the following verb it is similar to the English infinitive construction. Its occurrence is obligatory when ta 'go' or yi 'come' is followed by another verb either in a compound VP (examples 473, 475) or in a clause string (examples 474, 476).

The verb following the auxiliary verb has special tonal characteristics (see page 224).

Examples:

471. // bhú / ma na monì à //

NPs                      VP

you      yet go-to not-see qu

'Have you not yet gone to see?'

DB053

472. // ò / nó bisyà //

NPs                      VP

he go-to push

'He went to push (it)'

EC036

473. // á / ta na bhinè //

NPs                      compound VP

one let-go to ask

'Let us go and ask'

CC037

474. // ódhoni ei nà / ta / ómu / na wa / êdhyómù //

NPs                      VP                      NPo                      VP                      NPo

husband her the go house to look-for food

'Her husband went home to look for some food'

EB012

Note: This is a clause string.

475 // i / yi í kpolà //

NPs                      compound VP

they come to gather

'They come and gather'

DL030

476. // ò / tou yi / úgídha ôkai / í bhari bhuè //

NPs                      VP                      NPo                      VP

he take come waterside of-name to land keep

'He brought them to the water-side at Okaki and landed there'

BC009

Note: This is a clause string.

## 11.2. The Preverbal

The preverbal functions as an attributive element of the VP (section 7.2). From the point of view of its tone (see below) it functions as a verbal prefix, but it is analysed as a free form and not as a prefix since its position is not fixed either in relation to other preverbals or to the auxiliary verb.

The preverbal class comprises the following members:

- i 'again'
- í 'as a result' 'then'. This does not occur in negative clauses.
- le 'again'. This does not occur in negative clauses.
- ma 'still' 'yet'. This does not occur in imperative clauses.

The first three of the above preverbals harmonise with the vowel quality of the following verb. Compare examples 477 and 478, 479 and 480.

### Tone of Preverbals

- a. Preverbals i 'again', le 'again', ma 'still'

These preverbals bear the initial tone of the tone pattern of the verb root marking the polarity, mood and tense of the clause (sections 5.4 - 5.6).

Example: The future tense tone pattern is

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	hHL	HL	HL
verb only	(o) mē	'he will agree'	
	(o) dířè	'he will cook'	
	(o) kófilò	'he will cough'	
preverbal and verb	(o) lé mē	'he will agree again'	
	(o) lé dířè	'he will cook again'	

The descriptive tense tone pattern is

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	LLH	LH	H
verb only	(o) me	'he agrees'	
	(ó) ðire	'he cooks'	
	(ó) kòfílo	'he coughs'	
preverbal and verb	(ó) lè me	'he agrees again'	
	(ó) lè ðire	'he cooks again'	

b. The preverbal i 'then' has h tone and the following verb has special tone characteristics as described below.

Tone of the verb following auxiliary verb 'ná' and preverbal 'í'

These two morphemes both have h tone and the tone of the verb which succeeds them is as follows:

a. In all clauses except those in the descriptive tense the final tone of the verb is L.

Examples:

<u>Aorist tense:</u> verb only	(mí) kirese (HHH)	'I answered'
aux. verb and verb	(mí) ná kiresè	'I went to answer'
preverbal and verb	(mí) í kiresè	'then I answered'
compound VP ( <u>ta</u> 'go')	(mí) ta ná kiresè	'I went to answer'

Positive imperative:

verb only	kìrèsè (LLH)	'answer!'
aux. verb and verb	ná kìrèsè	'go and answer!'

b. In clauses in the descriptive tense the non-final tones(s) of the verb which are normally L, are H.

<u>Descriptive tense:</u>	verb only	(mí)	kírèse (LLH)	'I answer'
	aux. verb and verb	(mi)	ná kirese	'I go to answer'
	preverbal and verb	(mi)	í kirese	'then I answer'
	compound VP ( <u>ta</u> 'go')	(mi)	ta ná kirese	'I go to answer'

Examples of preverbals

477. // ó / lè fìèse / ádhù //
- VP
- he again peep eye
- '(When) he again had a peep' CB010

478. // ò / le ke //
- VP
- he again cut 'He cut again' CB022

479. // ò / i nusu / úswei nà //
- VP
- he again smell road the
- 'He again sniffed the road' EJ033

480. // ó / i swei //
- VP
- she again not-live
- 'She did not live any longer' CB031

481. // òkí / nà mà fòu / akíbhì //
- VP
- he inc still smoke pipe
- 'He was still smoking his pipe' CF009

For further examples see section 7.2, examples 255-258.

### 11.3. The Postverbal

The postverbal functions as an attributive element of the VP (section 7.2). The postverbal class comprises the following members:

dhe (padhe) 'finished' 'completely' 'thoroughly'

me '1st person singular object'

wo '2nd person singular object'

me and wo are naturally mutually exclusive. They may precede or follow dhe (compare examples 482 and 486), but they follow the longer form padhe (example 487).

The postverbals are analysed as elements of the VP and not as pronouns or adverbs for the following reasons:

a. They may be followed by the completive aspect particle nĩ, whereas this particle precedes pronouns and adverbs.

Compare:

ò kpei dhe mé nĩ 'He has thoroughly washed me'

PostVb

ò kpei dhé ni eĩ 'He has thoroughly washed him'

Pr

ò kpei dhé nĩ vióviè 'He has washed it very thoroughly'

Adv

b. The tone of the postverbal frequently depends on the polarity, mood and tense of the clause (see next page), whereas the tone of the other monosyllabic object pronouns and of adverbs remains constant in all clauses.

dhe (padhe) is analysed as a postverbal and not as a verb since it never occurs as the head of a VP. The vowel of dhe, me and wo harmonises with the vowel quality of the preceding verb.

Example:      ò kpei dhe me      'He finished washing me'

ò kpe dhe me      'He finished paying me'

### Tone of Postverbals

They bear the final tone of the tone pattern of the verb root marking the polarity, mood and tense of the clause (sections 5.4 - 5.6), except in descriptive clauses where me and wo have L tone.

### Examples:

The future tense tone pattern is

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	hHL	HL	<u>HL</u>
verb only	(o) mē	'he will agree'	
	(o) dīrè	'he will cook'	
	(o) kófìlò	'he will cough'	
verb and postverbal	(o) mé dhè	'he will completely agree'	
	(o) díre dhè	} 'he will cook it thoroughly	
	(o) díre padhè		
	(o) kpé mè	'he will pay me'	
	(o) gèní wò	'he will look at you'	

The positive imperative and descriptive tense tone pattern is

verb root	3 syllables	2 syllables	1 syllable
tone pattern	LLH	LH	H

### Positive imperative

verb and postverbal	mè dhe	'agree to everything!'
	dīrè pādhe	'cook it well!'
	kpé me	'pay me!'

### Descriptive tense

verb and postverbal	(ó) mè dhe	'he agrees completely'
	(ó) dīrè pādhe	'he cooks it well'
	(o) kpé mè (L)	'he pays me'
	(ó) gèní wò (L)	'he looks at you'



Examples of postverbals:

482. // à / zyi dhe mé nì //

VP

they bury finish me cpl

'(When) they have finished burying me'

DD018

483. // mī / moni wó nì //

VP

I see you cpl

'I have seen you'

EA034

484. // à / ná te dhe / omù //

VP

they go-to reach all house

'They all arrived at the house'

EE015

485. // ànì âlìbò / dire padhe / ákì //

VP

wife of-tortoise cook finish pot

'Tortoise's wife finished cooking'

DF020

486. // mī / sì tóu / enuma / tóu ku wó dhè //

VP

I will take money take give you all

'I will give you all the money'

DB014

487. // àmìnì / te padhe mé nì //

VP

water reach finish me cpl

'The water came right up to me'

AT025

For further examples see section 7.2, examples 260, 261.



## Type 2 Verbal Adjective

This type consists of a class A verb root with the suffix -mù. The suffix has two allomorphs: -ámù occurs following roots ending in a close vowel (in CVCV and CVCVCV roots the final vowel drops before the suffix); -mù occurs following roots ending in a non-close vowel. The suffix harmonises with the vowel quality of the verb root.

<u>Examples:</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	dire	dirémù	'cooked'
	dori	dorámù	'long'
	fu	fuámù	'white'
	karese	karesémù	'strengthened'
	tunu	tunámù	'sacrificed'
	wei	weiámù	'spoken'

## Type 3 Compound Adjective

This type consists of two roots which have fused. Only three examples have occurred:

gbèrì-konyi	'very small'	(gbèrì 'small')
kí-kàrì	'very strong'	(kàrì 'be strong')
vió-viè	'very good'	(viè 'good')

## Juncture between Noun and Adjective

The juncture between a noun and the following adjective is of three types: upstepped high (h), low (L) or neutral (N). For details see section 8.2.1.1.

h juncture: bô 'big', dhô 'old', dhíà 'evil',  
all type 2 adjectives

L juncture: gbê 'few'

N juncture: fài 'new', gbèrì 'small', viè 'good'

### 11.5. The Interrogative Modifier

The interrogative modifier functions as an attributive element of the simple NP type 4 (section 8.2.4). The class has only one member: vo 'which'. For full details and examples see section 8.2.4.

### 11.6. The Reinforcer

The reinforcer functions as an attributive element of the simple NP types 1-3 (sections 8.2.1 - 8.2.3) and of the VP (section 7.5). The class comprises the following members:

a	'also' 'any'
bhòdò	'for a long time' 'a long while ago'
lòù (lòùkpo, lòùkpokpo lòùlele)	'only' 'any' 'whatever'
nà	'the one already mentioned'
nù	'in particular'
o	'indeed'

As stated in the description of the NP (section 8.2.1.1) two reinforcers may occur in one phrase. nà has occurred preceding all the other members of the class. The only other examples of co-occurrence of reinforcers are: lòù a (example 490) and á o (example 491) which both have the semantic meaning 'even'.

The juncture between reinforcers and the previous word in the NP is of three types: upstepped high, low or neutral. For details see section 8.2.1.1.

h juncture:	<u>bhòdò</u>	'for long';	<u>nà</u>	'the';	<u>o</u>	'indeed'
L juncture:	<u>a</u>	'also'				
N juncture:	<u>lòù</u>	'only';	<u>nu</u>	'in particular'		

Examples:

488.      ótà [ na á sɪ zyí me ] nà nu  
             Nn                      RelCon              rf rf  
             time that they will bury me the special

'the very time that I will be buried'

DD018

489.      owútumu nà á i mo  
             Nn              rf rf  
             rat the even again is-not

'Even the rat was no longer there'

EE036

490.      akpákɪdho lóù a ó moni  
             Nn              rf rf  
             snail only even she not-see

'She did not see even just a non-edible snail'

FB016

Note: The NPo is frontshifted.

491.      àdhè ókiè á o  
             Nn GenCon rf rf  
             day of-match even indeed

'even on the very day of the match'

AR036

For further examples see NP section 8.2.1.1 nos, 291, 293, 295, 296;  
 and VP nos. 284-289.

## 11.7. Particles

Particles function as syntagmatic features of a unit and not as elements of a phrase. They have already been described in the course of the analysis. For the sake of completeness they are listed here with appropriate cross-references.

Aspect particles nà, nì : see verbal clause (5.4.1.3)

Clause-introducers		:	see complex sentence
	<u>kana</u>	:	type 6, Anterior (4.4.6)
	<u>ga</u>	:	type 7, Purpose (4.4.7)
	<u>na</u>	:	type 8, Result (4.4.8)
			type 9, Impersonal (4.4.9)
	<u>sa</u>	:	type 10, Unfulfilled Condition (4.4.10)
Construct marker	<u>na</u>	:	see NP (8.2.1.3)
Definitive particle	<u>ni</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.3; 5.6.1)
Emphatic particle	<u>va</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.5)
			nominal clause (6.1.3)
Future particles	<u>i</u> , <u>si</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.1.2)
Negative particles	<u>dhù</u>	:	see verbal clause (5.4.1.1)
	<u>na</u>	:	see verbal clause, subjunctive (5.4.1.1)
			imperative (5.5)
	<u>sa</u>	:	see nominal clause (6.1)
Question introducer	<u>tène</u>	:	see nominal clause, type 2C (6.2.3)
Question terminals	<u>à</u> , <u>e</u> , <u>sàmù</u>	:	see question sentence (4.5)
			verbal clause, type 3 (5.6)
			nominal clause, type 2 (6.2)
Sequential particle	<u>ka</u>	:	see discourse (3.2.1)
			complex sentence types 1 and 2 (4.4.1; 4.4.2)
			nominal clause (6.1.2; 6.2.2)
Speech particle	<u>ga</u>	:	see discourse (3.2.1)
			complex sentence type 3 (4.4.3)
			nominal clause (6.1.2)
Vocative particle	<u>è</u>	:	see marginal clause, type 1 (6.3.1)

#### 11.8. Exclamations

Exclamations function as the sole element of the marginal clause type 2. See section 6.3.2 for details and examples.

CHAPTER TWELVEANALYSED TEXT

This chapter presents an analysis of one of the Engenni texts which forms part of the corpus of material on which the foregoing analysis has been based. The text is a traditional folk-tale. It has been chosen because it illustrates a wide variety of different constructions, despite quite a lot of repetition which is characteristic of a folk-tale.

There is a high proportion of speech material in the text. Most of the quotations are indirect. Direct quotations occur as follows:

Sentences 11-12. In a dialogue between pig and tortoise, pig's speech is direct and tortoise's speech is indirect (see section 3.3.2, page 41).

Sentences 31-48. Almost all quotations are direct as this is the climax of the story (see page 40).

The text does not have the customary introduction or conclusion of a folk-tale (section 3.1) since there was no audience present at the time that it was recorded.

The first half of the text is analysed at all ranks; the second half (starting with sentence 26) at clause and sentence rank only. In the first half the text is set out as follows:

- line 1 The text with phrase and clause boundaries. Phrase boundaries are shown by a single line / , clause boundaries by a double line // . Clause boundaries are marked only within the sentence. Elsewhere clause and sentence boundaries coincide.
- line 2 A word-for-word English translation.
- line 3 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each word.
- \*line 4 Details of any rankshifted units functioning at phrase rank. (Two lines if necessary.)
- line 5 Details of the class and, where relevant, the subclass and/or type of each phrase. Phrase and clause boundaries are repeated on this line.

line 6 Analysis of the clause giving its type and also the demarcative features as these are frequently relevant to the analysis of the sentence.

\*line 7 Details of any rankshifted sentences functioning at clause rank.

line 8 Details of the type and, where relevant, the subtype of the sentence.

\*Lines 4 and 7 are omitted when not relevant. Underlining is used to show the extent of rankshifted units. Capital letters are used for line 8.

In the second half of the text lines 3-5 are omitted. Rank-shifted clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

To save congestion in the analysis, the favourite class/type of each unit is not described in full. Therefore unless otherwise stated:

Nouns are of class A (General) and type 1 (Simple);

Verbs are of class A;

The NP is simple and of type 1 (noun as Head);

The VP is of class A;

The nominal clause is of type 1 (Declarative);

The verbal clause or verbal clause string is of type 1 (Declarative), positive, indicative, in the aorist tense, and with neutral primary and secondary aspect.

The chapter ends with a free translation of the text followed by a full list of abbreviations used in the analysis together with others used in earlier chapters. When a sequence of abbreviations is used they are to be understood as follows:

Adj:2	Adjective of type 2
NPs:2	Nominal phrase of type 2 functioning as subject
NomCl:2C	Nominal clause of type 2 subtype C

Single capital letters e.g. A, B, refer to the class of the unit, and numerals e.g. 1, 2, to the type of the unit. A capital letter following a numeral e.g. 2C, refers to the subtype of the unit.



1. àlìbò / ana óyà.  
 tortoise one of-laziness  
 Nn Nn Nn  
 GenCon  
 NP / NP  
 NomCl:2  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE
2. opilopo / ka édei kunamu úkwô.  
 pig seq person making farm  
 Nn:2c part Nn Adj:2 Nn  
 GerunCon  
 NP / NP:5  
 NomCl:2  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE
3. ká ò / í kunu bhue / úkwô ákà nàà èdhya.  
 seq he so make keep farm of-corn and yam  
 part Pr PreVb TrVb TrVb Nn Nn Prep Nn  
Nn AddCon  
 GenCon  
 NPs:2 / VPcomp / NPo  
 VbCl  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE
4. ká èbhùrù / í yi / akie anàmù.  
 seq famine then come town of-animal  
 part Nn PreVb STrVb Nn Nn  
 GenCon  
 NPs / VP NPo  
 VbCl  
 SIMPLE SENTENCE

5. ká inùmù ávù a na àlìbò nàà imémini èí sì dhíà  
 seq thing one even which tor. and children his will eat  
 part Nn Num rf part Nn Prep Nn:3 Pr part TrVb

RelCon

NPs ext:1 cont. on next line

ó / mo .

it is-not

Pr Vb:B

NPs / VP:B

VbCl:neg

SIMPLE SENTENCE

6. ká àlìbò / í vio / omini ei / tà //  
 seq tortoise so send child his go  
 part Nn PreVb TrVb Nn Pr STrVb

NPs / VP / NPo / VP //

VbCl string

ga opilopó / kye / ì / ákà gbé nàà èdhyà gbé //

so-that pig should-give him corn little and yam little

part Nn:2 Ditr:Vb Pr Nn Adj:1 Prep Nn Adj:1

NPs / VP / NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup>

VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 2 cont. on next line

ká òkí / sì kpé / n' udhè.

seq he will pay on next-day

part Pr part DitrVb Prep Nn

NPs:2 / VP / AP:1

VbCl:fut

rs Sentence cont. from line above

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 7 (Purpose)

Note: Occurrence of the reflexive form 'oki' as the 3rd person singular pronoun shows that the final clause is dependent upon the particle ga (section 10.3.2).

7. ka opilopo / í bhue-enia / kye / í / ákà nàà èdhyá nà.  
 seq pig so then give him corn and yam the  
 part Nn:2 PreVb TrVb-Nn:B DitrVb Pr Nn Prep Nn rf  
 NPs / VP / AP:2 / VP / NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup>  
 VbCl string

## SIMPLE SENTENCE

8. ka o / te / údhe //  
 seq it reach next-day  
 part Pr STrVb Nn  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo //  
 VbCl:des

- ka opilopo / í tà // gá àlibó / kpe / ì / énuma ì  
 seq pig so go that tortoise should- him money his  
 pay  
 part Nn:2 PreVb STrVb part Nn DitrVb Pr Nn Pr  
 NPs / VP // NPs / VP / NPo<sup>1</sup> / NPo<sup>2</sup>  
 VbCl VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 7 (Purpose)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

9. ka ó / tà ná te // ká àlíbò / í gu kye / ì //
- seq he go to reach seq tortoise so promise give him
- part Pr STrVb Aux STrVb part Nn PreVb STrVb DitrVb Pr
- NPs:2 / VPcomp // NPs / VPcomp / NPo //
- VbCl:des VbCl
- 

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

- gá ò / té ni / udhè // ga ó / le tà.
- sp it reach cpl next-day sp he again should-go
- part Pr STrVb part Nn part Pr PreVb STrVb
- NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs:2 / VP
- VbCl:cpl VbCl:subj
- 

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

10. ka o / te / údhè // opilopó / tà ná te //
- seq it reach next-day pig go to reach
- part Pr STrVb Nn Nn STrVb Aux STrVb
- NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp //
- VbCl:des VbCl:des
- 

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

- ká àlíbò / vye // ga áché ì / wú nù.
- seq tortoise cry sp relative his die cpl
- part Nn IntrVb part Nn Pr IntrVb part
- NPs / VP // NPs / VP
- VbCl VbCl:cpl
- 

rs Sentence cont.

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

11. ka opilopo / í wo kye / ì // ga kádò // nà vyê.  
 seq pig so say give him sp sorry do-not cry  
 part Nn:2 PreVb IntrVb DitrVb Pr part excl part IntrVb  
 NPs / VPcomp /NPo // - // VP  
 VbCl MarCl VbCl:neg imp

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

Note: Change to direct quotation in the speech material is shown by the occurrence of the imperative clause.

12. ò / té ni / udhè // ka mí / nà yia //  
 it reach cpl next-day seq I inc come  
 Pr STrVb part Nn part Pr part STrVb  
 NPs:2/ VP / NPo // NPs:2 / VP //  
 VbCl:cpl VbCl:des inc

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

- ka bhù / kpe me / osá nà ò .  
 seq you pay me due the indeed  
 part Pr DitrVb PostVb Nn rf rf  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo  
 VbCl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 2 (Co-ordinate)

Note: Continuation of direct quotation is shown by the occurrence of the 1st person pronoun.

13. àlíbò / me .  
 tortoise agree  
 Nn IntrVb  
 NPs / VP  
 VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

14. ka o / te / ow-áwìlè // opilopó / tà ná te //  
 seq it reach next-morning pig go to reach  
 part Pr STrVb Nn:5 Nn:2 STrVb Aux STrVb  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp //  
 VbCl:des VbCl:des

ká àlìbò / bìdhá ñì .  
 seq tortoise travel cpl  
 part Nn STrVb part  
 NPs / VP  
 VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

15. ká ò / í bhinè // gá tènè àlìbò .  
 seq he so ask sp where-is tortoise  
 part Pr PreVb STrVb part QuInt Nn  
 NPs:2 / VP // NP  
 VbCl NomCl:2C

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

16. ka imémini àlìbò / wei // gá àlibó / nà bìdha.  
 seq children of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel  
 part Nn:3 Nn IntrVb part Nn part STrVb  
 GenCon  
 NPs / VP // NPs / VP  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

17. àlìbò / ta ñì / ekya / ya .  
 tortoise go cpl foreign-place is  
 Nn STrVb part Nn Vb:B  
 NPs / VP / NPo / VP  
 VbCl string

SIMPLE SENTENCE

18. ka opilopo / í pà // ó / nò gbe.  
 seq pig so leave he inc go-home  
 part Nn:2 PreVb IntrVb Pr part STrVb  
 NPs / VP //NPs:2/ VP  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate Action)

19. o / te / ow-áwìè // ká àlibó / gírì dhuu / ékyá na / yia //  
 it reach next-morning seq tor. return follow foreign the come  
 place  
 Pr STrVb Nn:5 part Nn IntrVb STrVb Nn rf STrVb  
 NPs:2/ VP / NPo // NPs / VPcomp / NPo / VP //  
 VbCl:des VbCl string:des

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential) cont. on next line

ká ò / í bhue-enia / wo kye / omini èl //  
 seq he so then say give child his  
 part Pr PreVb STrVb-Nn:B IntrVb DitrVb Nn:3 Pr  
 NPs / VP / AP / VPcomp / NPo //  
 VbCl string

rs Sentence cont. from line above

ga opilopô / yí ni / n' udhè // ga ó / sì vyé / syinùmù.  
 sp pig come cpl on next-day sp he will cry very-much  
 part Nn STrVb part Prep Nn part Pr part IntrVb Adv:1  
 NPs / VP / AP:1 // NPs:2 / VP / AP:3  
 VbCl:cpl VbCl:fut

rs Sentence: 1 (Sequential)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

Note: This complex sentence consists of two rankshifted sentences, the first of which has three clauses and the second two clauses.

20.      ó / sì tókpa kye / i .  
he will scold give him  
Pr part IntrVb DitrVb Pr  
NPs:2/ VPcomp / NPo:2  
          VbCl:fut  
SIMPLE SENTENCE
21.      ó / sì wéià // ga ó / wùrú / ìvo //  
he will say sp it do how  
Pr part IntrVb part Pr TrVb Int  
NPs:2/ VP // NPs:2 / VP / NPo //
- VbCl:fut                          VbCl:des
- ná òkí / kpe / i / osà .  
that he not-pay him debt  
part Pr DitrVb Pr Nn
- NPs:2 / VP / NPo<sup>1</sup>/ NPo<sup>2</sup>
- VbCl:neg
- rs Sentence: 9
- COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)
22.      ó / sì vuma karesè .  
he will vex make-strong  
Pr part IntrVb STRvb  
NPs:2/ VPcomp  
          VbCl:fut  
SIMPLE SENTENCE



23. ká ò / ríí nì / éníà // ka omini eí / kirese / i / lál//  
 seq it pass cpl thus seq child his should- turn him turn-  
 over

Part Pr TrVb part Nn:B part Nn:3 Pr STrVb Pr TrVb  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo // NPs / VP NPo:2/ VP//

VbCl:cpl VbCl string: subj

rs Sentence: 1

ka ó / tóu / aka / nyónì //  
 seq he should-take corn put

part Pr TrVb Nn TrVb  
 NPs:2 / VP / NPo / VP //

VbCl string:subj

ka ó / za gbé / n'égilè na opilopó sí yía ná.  
 seq he stay grind at time that pig will come the

part Pr STrVb TrVb Prep Nn part Nn:2 part STrVb rf

RelCon

NPs:2 / VPcomp / AP

VbCl:subj

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 2 (Co-ordinate)

24. ka opilopó / yì í te nì // ka ó / moni moni / eì .  
 seq pig come to reach cpl seq he not-see not-see him

part Nn:2 STrVb Aux STrVb part part Pr TrVb TrVb Pr  
 NPs / VPcomp // NPs:2/ VP / NPo:2

VbCl:cpl

VbCl:neg rep

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

25. ka omini eí / wèi // gá òkì / bídha ya .  
 seq child his should-say sp he travel is

part Nn:3 Pr IntrVb part Pr STrVb Vb:B  
 NPs / VP // NPs:2 / VPcomp:B

VbCl:subj

VbCl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

26. àdhé bhùe-eníá kirese wíl //  
 day then repeat dawn

VbCl:des

- ka opilopô í kwà // ó nò ta .  
 seq pig so start he inc go

VbCl VbCl:des inc

rs Sentence: 5

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

27. opilopó tà ná te //  
 pig go to reach

VbCl:des

- ka omíni àlibò wurú nu idhiáná [àlibó wo kye i] ná.  
 seq child of-tortoise do cpl how tortoise say give him the

VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

28. ò tòú nì aka tou sise nyoni bhue ni n'ogbo àlibò //  
 he take cpl corn take place put keep cpl on back of-tor.

VbCl string:cpl

- ka ó nò zà gbe.  
 seq he inc stay grind

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 2 (Co-ordinate)

29. ka opilopô í bhinè // gá tènè àlibò .  
 seq pig so ask sp where tortoise

VbCl

NomCl:2C

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

30. omíni álibò wei // gá àlibó nà bídha .  
 child of-tortoise say sp tortoise inc travel  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

31. ká ò í bhue-enia bhò // àlibò àna óyà.  
 seq he so then scold tortoise one of -laziness  
 VbCl NomCl:1B

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

32. inùmù àvù a ó moni wuru .  
 thing one any he not-able do  
 VbCl:neg (NPo is frontshifted)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

33. àlibó ì kpé mē ọsa mē.  
 tortoise will pay me due my  
 VbCl:fut

SIMPLE SENTENCE

Note: Change to direct quotation in speech material shown by the occurrence of 1st person forms.

34. ó ta èdho n'ínyá.  
 he go where on today  
 VbCl:inter nfut

SIMPLE SENTENCE

35. ka ó nò bó ènía nà // ká ò í bhue-enia swai dhòu ugyò  
 seq he inc scold: thus the seq he so then carry take stone  
 VbCl:des inc VbCl String (cont. on next line)

[na omíni álibo nà tòu gbẹ áka] nà tòu sù tuváí.  
 which child of-tor. inc take grind corn the take throw lose  
 (NPo includes RelCon)

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

36. ká àlǐbò bhue-eníá bhaa dhuu esyimu yì  
 seq tortoise then return follow back come  
 VbCl (cont. on next line)

[na á tǔvai dhe ì nà].

which they lose finish him the

(RelCon attributive to esyimu. The RelCon usually immediately follows its antecedent.)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

37. ó yì í te // ká ò í bhue-enia wei //  
 he come to reach seq he so then say  
 VbCl:des VbCl

rs Sentence:l

mí sì kpé wọ ọsa wọ n'inyâ.

I will pay you due you on today

VbCl:fut

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

38. enyi

yes

MarCl:2

SIMPLE SENTENCE

39. mé àdhídhè

I richman

NomCl:lB

SIMPLE SENTENCE

40. mǐ tǔu nǐ énuma mē tǔu dyi bhue nǐ n'úvomu ugyò.  
 I take cpl money my take store keep cpl in inside stone

VbCl String:cpl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

41. ò bhue-enfa bhine omini eì // gá tènè úgyo nà.  
 he then ask child his sp where stone the

VbCl

NomCl:2C

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

42. ò í wei // ga opilopó nà vùma .  
 he so say sp pig inc vex

VbCl

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

43. ó nò tùkpà kú wò.  
 he inc upbraid give you

VbCl:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

44. ká ò í pa dhòu ugyo na tòu su tuvaì.  
 seq he then lift take stone the take throw lose

VbCl String

SIMPLE SENTENCE

45. àlibò tyá // òkì wú nù.  
 tortoise shout he die cpl

VbCl

VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Report)

46. opilopo.

pig

MarCl:1

SIMPLE SENTENCE

47. gwa ná wa syie me ugyo mè.  
 right! go-to search bring me stone the

VbCl string: imp

SIMPLE SENTENCE

48. èsyíà ká èsyì [ na mì dyi bhué ni ɛnuma mè ].  
 place seq place which I store keep cpl money my

NomCl:LB (RelCon as attributive of 2nd NP)

SIMPLE SENTENCE

49. ka opilopô í kwà // ó nò tà ná wà.  
 seq pig so start he inc go to search

VbCl

VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 10 (Immediate Action)

50. ò wa úgyo ná.  
 he search stone the

VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

51. ó i moni.  
 he again not-see

VbCl:neg

SIMPLE SENTENCE

52. ò wa wa úgyo ná  
 he search search stone the

VbCl:rep

SIMPLE SENTENCE

53. ó i moni.  
 he again not-see

VbCl:neg

SIMPLE SENTENCE

54. opilopô kwa // ó nò ta ná ko egwe omu ei //  
 pig start he inc go to call people of-house his  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

í yi i dhuu ei wà.  
 they should- to follow him search  
 come  
 VbCl:subj

rs Sentence: 7

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate Action)

55. í nà wá nà //  
 they inc search the  
 VbCl:des inc

ká àlìbò nàà ómini ei ya n' êsyimù // í nà zà gbèla.  
 seq tortoise and child his are at back they inc stay laugh  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

rs Sentence: 5

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

56. í nà zà gbèi opilopo.  
 they inc stay laugh pig  
 VbCl:des inc

SIMPLE SENTENCE

57. atye édèi geni édèi // í nà gbèi bhùe.  
 each person look person they inc laugh keep  
 VbCl VbCl:des inc

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 5 (Immediate action)

58. ká òsà àlìbo nà nàà opilopó nà í dhuu esyia riì.  
 seq debt of-tor. the and pig the so follow there pass  
 VbCl

SIMPLE SENTENCE

59. ká àlǐbò í wèi // ga opilopô tu-váí ní enuma ì.  
 seq tortoise so say that pig lose cpl money his  
 VbCl VbCl:cpl

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 3A (Speech)

60. ó dhuu enia yia // òkì á ì kpe opilopo òsa ì.  
 it follow thus come he too so not-pay pig due his  
 VbCl:ref VbCl:neg

COMPLEX SENTENCE: 1 (Sequential)

### Free Translation

The numbers of the corresponding sentences in the text are given in parentheses at the beginning of each sentence.

(1) Tortoise was a lazy person: (2) pig was a farmer. (3) Pig had made a farm of corn and yam. (4) Then famine came to the animals' town. (5) There was nothing for tortoise and his children to eat. (6) So tortoise sent his child in order that pig should give him a little corn and a little yam and he would pay the next day. (7) Pig then gave him the corn and yam. (8) When the next day came, pig went with the intention that tortoise should pay him his money. (9) When he arrived, tortoise persuaded him to come again the following day.

(10) The next day when pig arrived, tortoise cried that a relative of his had died. (11) So pig said to him, "I'm sorry, don't cry. (12) I will come tomorrow and you can pay me your debt". (13) Tortoise agreed.

(14) The next morning when pig arrived, tortoise had travelled. (15) So pig asked where tortoise was. (16) Tortoise's children said that tortoise was travelling. (17) He was away in foreign parts. (18) So pig set off for home.



(19) The next morning when tortoise returned from foreign parts, he told his child that when pig came the next day, he would create a big scene. (20) He would scold him. (21) He would ask why he (tortoise) wouldn't pay him what was owing. (22) He would rant a lot. (23) Because of this, his child should turn him over and put corn on him and should be grinding at the time that pig would come. (24) When pig came he would not see him at all. (25) His child should say that he (tortoise) was travelling.

(26) When day dawned pig set off. (27) When he arrived, tortoise's child had done what tortoise told him. (28) He had taken some corn and put it on tortoise's back and was grinding. (29) Then pig asked where tortoise was. (30) Tortoise's child said that tortoise was travelling. (31) Pig then scolded, saying, "Tortoise is a lazybones. (32) There is nothing he can do. (33) Tortoise will pay me what he owes me. (34) Where did he go today?" (35) As he was scolding like this, he picked up the stone on which tortoise's child was grinding the corn and threw it away.

(36) Tortoise came back from behind where he had been thrown away. (37) When he came he said, "I will pay you what I owe today. (38) Yes, I will. (39) I'm a rich man. (40) I have taken my money and kept it inside a stone." (41) Then he asked his child where the stone was. (42) The child said, "Pig was angry. (43) He was scolding you. (44) Then he picked up the stone and threw it away." (45) Tortoise shouted that he was ruined. (46) "Pig! (47) Now then, go and look for my stone and bring it to me. (48) That is where I have kept my money."

(49) So pig set off to go and look. (50) He looked for the stone, (51) but he didn't find it again. (52) He looked and looked for the stone, (53) but he didn't find it again. (54) Pig set off to go and call his family to come and search with him. (55) As they were searching, tortoise and his child were in the background laughing. (56) They were laughing at pig. (57) They looked at each other and kept laughing. (58) So pig's and tortoise's debts were equalised. (59) Tortoise said that pig had thrown away his money. (60) Therefore he wouldn't any more pay pig what he owed him.

### ABBREVIATIONS

The following list includes all the abbreviations used in the analysis of the preceding text together with others used in earlier chapters.

AddCon	Additive construct
Adj	Adjective
Adv	Adverb
aor	Aorist tense
AP	Adverbial phrase
Aux	Auxiliary verb
cpl	Completive aspect
decl	Declarative
def	Definitive particle
Dem	Demonstrative
des	Descriptive tense
DitrVb	Ditransitive verb
emp	Emphatic particle
excl	Exclamation
fut	Future tense
GenCon	Genitive construct
GerunCon	Gerundive construct
imp	Imperative
inc	Incompletive aspect
ind	Indicative
Int	Interrogative
inter	Interrogative clause
IntMod	Interrogative modifier
inten	Intensive secondary aspect
IntrVb	Intransitive verb
LocCon	Locative construct
MarCl	Marginal clause
neg	Negative

nfut	Non-future
NomCl	Nominal clause
Nn	Noun
NP	Nominal phrase
NPext	Extended nominal phrase
NPo	Nominal phrase object
Num	Numeral
part	Particle
pos	Positive
Poss	Possessive
PostVb	Postverbal
Pr	Pronoun
Prep	Preposition
PreVb	Preverbal
QuInt	Question introducer
QuTer	Question terminal
ref	Referential tense
rep	Repetitive secondary aspect
rf	Reinforcer
RelCon	Relative construct
rs	Rankshifted
subj	Subjunctive
Sen	Sentence
STrVb	Semi-transitive verb
TrVb	Transitive verb
Vb	Verb
VbAdj	Verbal adjective
VbCl	Verbal clause
VP	Verbal phrase
VPcomp	Compound verbal phrase

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